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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXVII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1934 NUMBER 1000

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The Week

THE President, by objecting to increased appropriations for the C.W.A. and sanctioning the cuts now made in salary disbursements under it, is sabotaging the principal agency through which the "forgotten man" has felt the benefit of depression relief. It is also one of the few agencies that are actually "priming the pump" by distributing purchasing power which is really and promptly spent by its recipients. The President professes to believe that by May the public-works program will have swung sufficiently into action, and recovery will have proceeded so far, that those now employed under the C.W.A. can find jobs elsewhere. But does he really think that these four million persons can be absorbed into other employments so quickly? If they are not absorbed, the burden of supporting them will fall back upon bankrupt states and cities. The amount necessary to provide for them a few months longer is small in comparison with other budget expenditures. Apparently the President is afraid of the criticism by employers that the pitiful wage standards set by the C.W.A. are so high as to attract people away from private employment. And he is afraid of expanding the budget any further. He may be waiting for Congress to relieve him of the odium of these complaints. If so, we hope public pressure will force Congress to take the lead by making a sufficient new appropriation. The country has seen enough starvation not to want to take a chance on any more of it, budget or no budget.

RAILROAD COORDINATOR Eastman's report is notable for its demonstration that while railroad consolidation under private ownership would not achieve the economies claimed for it and would be undesirable on other grounds, complete public ownership is the ultimate and logically desirable solution. Opponents of this conclusion argue that Mr. Eastman has always been an advocate of public ownership. The answer is that Mr. Eastman has always been right in this, and that the passage of time has simply confirmed his judgment. When an industry is so involved with the public interest that detailed regulation is demanded, the only efficient way of handling the situation is to go the whole hog and exercise control administratively rather than by the clumsy methods of regulation. The report details a workable method of acquiring ownership and a method of organizing the country's railway system which will combine the maximum gains with the minimum risks of political interference. Although the Coördinator may be right that the time is not ripe to take this action on account of the financial burden involved, we should say that the risk was much less than that of continuing to lend public money to privately owned railroads through the R.F.C.

BY THIS time it must be obvious to the most casual observer that the unrest in Cuba is not a series of mere intrigues among political cliques. The island is witnessing a genuine social revolution, one in which the masses have entered directly into the scene and are presenting their social demands, now by means of strikes and processions, now with the aid of rifle and machete. On January 18, the day that Carlos Mendieta became President, there was what amounted to a general strike throughout the island: railroad men, power-station employees, telephone operators, sugar-mill workers, all had

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downed their tools and were out in the streets. On that day the National Confederation of Labor, which claims to represent 70 percent of the organized workers, put forward some bold demands: "For the trial of Colonel Batista and other murderers of the workers; for the withdrawal of United States warships and against intervention; for the withdrawal of troops from all factories and plantations; for the carrying out of a general strike to enforce these demands; for all power to the workers and peasants, supported by soldiers' and sailors' committees." "All power to the workers and peasants" is not the sort of slogan one hears in Union Square on Saturday afternoons. It is a slogan raised by responsible revolutionary leaders only when they have a real chance of seizing the government. Two Cuban warships elected delegates to the joint-action committees and pledged their full support. Nevertheless, the bid for power has not been made. The strike was broken that same afternoon, partly by promises from the new government and partly by a show of military force.

BUT the Cuban revolution isn't over yet, even though the new President seems to have a much firmer grip on the office than had his two predecessors. He has, in the first place, the implied support of the United States, which is promptly recognizing his government. He has the support of Colonel Batista, the dictator of the Cuban army; and that of the ABC, the liberal-nationalistic society which helped to overthrow the former President; and that of the propertied classes, which sabotaged the Grau San Martin government by refusing to pay their taxes; all these elements are represented in his Cabinet. But labor and the peasants are not represented there. The great celebration in Havana on the day that Mendieta assumed office did not extend to the poorer quarters of the city. And even though the general strike has been abandoned, a series of local strikes is continuing and expanding. Practically all the native physicians and hospital workers have left their posts, and the National Confederation of Labor is supporting them. Last Monday night the entire faculty of Havana University resigned in sympathy with the medical strike. Meanwhile the sugar-grinding on the plantations, the great *zafra* that is the center of Cuban economic life, is almost completely halted. A special cable to The New York Times says that "Only eight sugar mills are now reported to be grinding, and a majority of these are Cuban owned. . . . Nearly all quota mills, numbering 178, had begun grinding by this time last year." President Roosevelt has a plan for partly solving Cuba's economic problem. If it does not go into effect soon, the Cuban workers may undertake the task of solving the problem in their own fashion, by seizing the mills and dividing the land.

WHAT Mussolini did not dare to undertake in eleven years of Fascist rule, the complete abolition of trade unionism in any form, Adolf Hitler accomplished in the twelfth month of his National Socialist regime. On January 15 his government issued a law reforming the Labor Front, closing the books of its already crippled and "coördinated" unions to new members and ordering their final dissolution, together with that of all employers' organizations, on the first of May. After that day the Labor Front will consist of all persons connected with the industrial work of the Reich, employer, salaried and wage worker alike joining as individual members. Shop councils will cease to exist. The law further forbids strikes, stoppages and lockouts, and places the settlement of all differences between the Leader (employer) and his Following (employees) into the hands of the former, putting him "on his honor" to safeguard the interests of his employees. The latter may appeal from his decisions to a Court of Honor (trustees) consisting of the employer, a Nazi labor representative and a representative of the Labor Front. All wage agreements between heretofore existing unions and employers' organizations or employers become void after May 1. Collective agreements, which were effective for all factories and plants of any one industry in a given district, the Ministry explained in its proclamation of the new edict, have resulted in the financial weakening and elimination from the industrial process of many of the smaller undertakings and have thus contributed materially to the increase of unemployment. Under the new system, it continues, every employer will have a say in the regulation of wages to ensure the continued existence of his establishment. It is highly significant that the German government found it impossible to work with its "coordinated" labor unions; it proves what anti-Fascist sources have already reported: that the workers are dissatisfied with the National Socialist management of their affairs, that this dissatisfaction found expression in the Fascist trade-union and shop-council meetings and that the Nazi officials could not cope with the grumbling of their followers and the propaganda of Marxist elements. The coming May Day will complete the work the last May Day began and will leave the German worker more completely than ever at the mercy of his employer and of the terrorist movement behind him.

THE trial of Ludwig Renn, well known German Communist writer and propagandist, which ended with his conviction and a sentence of thirty months in jail, may be accepted as the first of a series of similar trials against German Communist leaders. Renn became famous for his authorship of two excellently written anti-war books, "War" and "After War." He is descended from the old Saxon nobility, was an officer of the Guard and served as captain from the first to the last day of the World War. Nationalist and fascist elements particularly resented this defection to communism of one who logically belonged in their own ranks. To the naïve souls who rejoiced that "justice still lives in Germany" when the four Communists were acquit-

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ted of the Reichstag-fire charge, recent events in Germany must have brought a shocked awakening. Ernst Torgler is in the hands of Göring's dreaded Secret State Police, the three Bulgarians will "for the present remain in protective arrest," while Leo Gallagher, the Los Angeles attorney who tried to obtain Dimitroff's release, is about to be expelled from the country.

WHEN the Nazi government promulgated its sterilization law about six months ago, it announced that approximately 400,000 persons unsuited either morally or physically to perpetuate the German race would fall under its provisions, but insisted that the law would under no circumstances be applied to political opponents of the National Socialist state unless other considerations required their sterilization. Now the correspondence bureau "Infa" reports from Dessau (Anhalt) that the local special court condemned two workers charged with anti-Hitler propaganda to be sterilized. The arbitrary application of this decree by a lower court to political opponents today may become the accepted rule in the Reich tomorrow; what will prevent its use against Jews, as the most effective method of ridding the country of all danger of "Semitic contamination of Nordic blood"?

THIS wasn't spoken by any radical. "The visible government of the state consists of the men elected to office. . . . In times past the invisible government has consisted of unseen and sometimes unknown persons who, by means of money paid, contributions secretly given or favors granted, have bribed, cajoled or forced the officers of the visible government to grant to the hidden interests privileges and powers that they could not obtain in the open. In this particular case . . . the representative of the power interests sits in his office in 15 Broad Street and, through the Clerk of the Assembly, issues orders, promotes this bill or that, directs who shall be put at the head of committees and, in seeing that the interests of his corporation are always protected, as against the interests of the people . . . nullifies the laws of the state and the Constitution itself." No, this interesting analysis of governmental processes is not the work of a bewhiskered comrade on a soapbox whose sole connection with practical politics is the policeman's club. Quite the contrary. It is the statement of a man most of whose life has been spent right inside the revolving wheels of government—by W. Kingsland Macy, chairman, of all things, of the Republican party in the state of New York. One might say that he ought to know about such matters.

BUT the invisible government apparently is to go on visibly from 15 Broad Street. Mr. Macy's fight to prevent the naming of Fred W. Hammond as Clerk of the State Assembly has been beaten. Hammond has been renamed, despite Mr. Macy's convincing evidence that Hammond was the key member of the power lobby of the state, the "invisible government" ruled by H. Edmund Machold, one-time Republican State Chairman and Speaker of the Assembly and now president of the Niagara Hudson Power Company. We are a little doubtful, however, that Mr. Machold is really less of a tool than Mr. Hammond. An after-dinner anecdote used to float about when Mr. Machold was Speaker some years ago. It was to the effect that Mrs. Floyd L. Carlisle, wife of the Chairman of the Board of the Consolidated Gas Company and the Niagara Hudson, was once vaguely aware that she had heard of but could not place Speaker Machold. Suddenly she burst out, "Oh yes, I remember now —one of my husband's clerks."

WE HOPE Congress is not too busy this session with Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal to take a little time for a new, square deal for the Indians. John Collier, the present Commissioner, has done more for the red man in the past few months than all his predecessors combined did in many years; but his most important plan is one that needs congressional authorization. This is a scheme to restore allotments of land to the tribes, and not to individual Indians as the United States has done since 1887. For forty-seven years the country has been trying to break up the tribes and "assimilate" the Indian as an individual. This plan won't work; its chief result up to now has been to take away entirely about two-thirds of the Indians' lands (naturally the best two-thirds) and reduce 90,000 of them to pauperism. The only sensible scheme is to give the land to the tribes—buying new acreage where necessary—and let them practise their own type of subsistence farming and handicraft industry in their own way. This plan has the support of all the leading associations devoted to the Indians' welfare. If there is a single good objection to it, we haven't heard it and can't imagine what it can be.

IT SEEMS that the boys are having trouble picking their shirts. So many fascist organizations are springing up in this country—no less than 103 by the latest count—that all the ordinary colors have been claimed and preëmpted. Already there are White Shirts and Silver Shirts, Khaki, Blue and Black Shirts. But, boys, don't ever despair. The Textile Color Card Association of the U. S., Inc., stands ready to help you. Twice a year the Association issues a color card that ought to be of infinite help to the shirt manufacturers and amateur Mussolinis. What about Orangeade Shirts, for those who haven't quite decided whether to be red or yellow? And Bonbon Beige Shirts for those who want to be like Hitler, only paler? Here are a few other suggestions from the Association's color card of last autumn: Raspberry Cream Shirts, Fudge Brown Shirts, Rubyluster Shirts (redder than red, for the Trotskyites), Tomato Bisque Shirts, Pansy Petal Shirts (deep lavender, for whoever wants to wear them), Aspic Green Shirts, Marshmallow Pink

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Shirts (for liberals), Artillery Gray Shirts (for the tougher babies), Glory Blue, Moonrise and Honey Yellow Shirts. But we suspect that most of our readers will hesitate to join in this saturnalia of shirtings. For their special benefit we suggest an organization to be known as the Rainbow Shirts, which will hold meetings, listen to rousing speeches, march to the music of brass bands, enjoy all the tub-thumpings and soul-stirrings of fascism without having any political purpose whatsoever—except maybe to persuade The New York Times to add a comic strip. For vice-president of this new organization, we nominate Mr. Alexander Throttlebottom. Maybe Albert H. Wiggin would consent to be treasurer.

How to Stop Runaway Prices

THE CONFLICT concerning the influence of the N.R.A. codes in raising prices to consumers and imperiling small business men has at last received national publicity through the controversy between Senators Borah and Nye on the one hand and General Johnson on the other. In the senatorial debate there are extensive quotations from the recent hearings of complaints and of the material developed by the Consumers' Advisory Board. Case after case is cited of prices raised by enormous percentages, of identical bids which indicate collusion. The General Electric Company would not permit a contractor to fulfill his bid to the City of Milwaukee, on the ostensible ground that it disapproved of the specifications for light bulbs set by the city on the basis of scientific tests. Four steel manufacturers simultaneously raised the price of flat steel wire from $6 to $11 and then to $16 a ton. Paper wholesalers announced uniform prices in the Pacific Northwest before the adoption of a paper code, and paper was boosted three times in thirty days thereafter. Identical bids have been received for Portland cement, fiber conduit, chlorine, steel pipe, brick, drills. Profiteering appears in cotton and woolen fabrics. And so on.

Most of these complaints come from cities, universities, business buyers and the like, who have the facilities to make tests, compare prices and protest at Washington. But from the defenseless ultimate consumer nothing can be heard—except such voices crying in the wilderness as that of Mr. Fred Schlink of Consumers' Research (whose slashing attack upon the government's policy in respect of consumers, delivered at Philadelphia, was at first prevented from being broadcast over the radio) and those of General Johnson's own "advisers" on the Consumers' Advisory Board.

Three types of response to this criticism have been made by the administration. One is to invite critics to join the official staffs of advisers on behalf of consumers. But there are already capable persons on these boards, and their advice is usually given little publicity and is ignored by those in control of business. A code administrator recently published a warning that the advisory boards would be abolished unless they were reasonable and conciliatory. The second response is the activity now going on, under the guidance of Professor Paul Douglas, to set up consumers' county councils throughout the country. But if the administration is interested enough in the cause of consumers to encourage them to organize in self-protection—a highly praiseworthy measure—why does it not listen to the able advisers in Washington which it has itself appointed? General Johnson's position has been that the consumer is sufficiently protected by the President's power under the Recovery Act, exercised through the Recovery administrator himself. Nevertheless the administrator has sanctioned the faulty codes and the price increases, in spite of informed protests. Now the best he can do is to plead with business men, in a public speech, "for God's sake" not to raise prices. The third measure is the President's declaration that injured parties may complain to the Federal Trade Commission. Thus the injury which, in one department, the government permits to be done may be complained of in another. This may help business men who can afford the expense and delay incidental to complaining, but buyers of retail goods can hardly avail themselves of the privilege.

The difficulty is that Mr. Roosevelt is trying to ride two horses that do not want to go in the same direction. One is business, which, in its search for immediate profit, always has taken, and does now take, advantage of every opportunity to raise prices. The other is the buyer who is interested in high quality at a low price. The more headstrong and powerful of the horses at present is business, and Mr. Roosevelt has given this horse his head by "industrial self-government." The codes are written by producing business men and are administered by them. There is no sharing of real power either by consumers or by labor. Mr. Roosevelt professes to be greatly concerned about the wishes of the consumer, but all that he does about it amounts to patting this horse on the neck and with soothing words inducing him to run along beside the business steed. A few protesting whinnies are heard, and that is all—yet. But the President may be assured that if revival ever begins and inflation really takes hold, he will have a runaway on his hands. There will be complaints about the high cost of living such as never before were heard in this country, and a popular sentiment against the management of our economy which will sweep him from office.

What is necessary, of course, is that the government should exercise a genuine control over prices in behalf of the consumer. It must exercise this control in the setting of prices, and do so in an administrative capacity. It must not let organized industry set prices and then ask people to complain if they think the prices are too high. Public price control is the only real alternative to the cut-throat competition against which the administration has set

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its face. Begin, if you like, with the proposition that no concern should cut its prices by reducing wages and increasing hours beyond reasonable standards. But then you have to find out what level of labor costs these standards impose, so that you will know the level below which prices should not be cut. And you will have to know whether in other respects the businesses concerned are operating with reasonable efficiency. You will have to know whether a given price-cutter is really a "chiseler" or simply a more efficient producer. Cost-finding and engineering standards are the essential basis for any price control in the interest of the consuming public.

These figures must be obtained for individual concerns, since there is great variation in costs among different units. They must be obtained according to standards set up by accountants and engineers who are not hired by private business, but by the government in its function of consumer-protection. Supervision of their collection and analysis must be exercised by true representatives of the consumer in each code authority. And then they must be used by consumer representatives in deciding what prices are reasonable. To build the necessary machinery and obtain the necessary information is a gigantic task; it may be impossible so long as industry remains in private hands and must be regulated. But, whether possible or not, it is the only viable alternative to price competition. Until such controls can be set up, every provision in every code which either directly or indirectly makes possible an agreement on prices among competitors, whether that agreement is explicit or tacit, should be canceled. Until the President, through his authority under the Recovery Act, does this, his words about protecting the consumer mean nothing.

Useful as the agitation by the protesting Senators is, there is one inconsistency in their position. Concern for the interest of the consumer is not necessarily compatible with concern for the interest of the small business man just because he is small. What the worker-consumer and the farmer-consumer need is that production and distribution should be increasingly in the hands of those who can conduct these functions most efficiently—that is, with the lowest spread betwen wages and selling prices. If the small business man is more efficient than the large one, he should of course be protected against the power of monopoly, not because he is small but because he is efficient. But if, as is often the case, the small man is not really efficient, keeping him in business will simply serve to keep prices up and wages down, and will swell the profits of the more efficient concerns. That is one of the chief troubles with price agreements among competitors. Prices are usually set high enough to give a profit to that member of the group who has the highest cost. If the chief aim of Senators Borah and Nye is to preserve the small business man, they should urge him to join his trade association and take part in "self-government of business" on a basis of price-boosting. But if they really want to protect the consumer, they should insist on thorough, public cost-finding and the setting of prices low enough to eliminate the less efficient merchant or manufacturer, be he large, medium or small.

Some Expert Advice on Housing

WHEN THE great federal program of public works was planned, it was hoped and expected that housing for the poor would be an important part. Up to now, however, this hope has not been realized. For various reasons, tremendous difficulties have been encountered. Real-estate interests have been hostile. The people in general have never been educated to regard public housing as either desirable or necessary. The line of least resistance, so far as public opinion is concerned, lies in slum clearance; but it is a matter of grave question whether it is economically possible to build decent homes for the poor with the high land values that still exist in the worst of our metropolitan slums. Those engaged in the public-housing program have been handicaped by all these matters and even, incredible as it sounds, by a lack of funds with which to make the necessary preliminary studies and plans. The result is that hardly anything has yet been done.

With the American program thus failing so lamentably, it is interesting to hear the testimony of a man generally regarded as one of the outstanding experts in this field in Great Britain, where a fine record of achievement has been made since the end of the War. This man, Sir Raymond Unwin, has recently been in this country studying the American situation and program. At a public meeting in New York the other day, he stated his conclusions, which may be summarized as follows:

> Housing for the poor is perhaps the best of all possible public works for the purpose of seeking to end a depression. This is true, first, because the expenditures are distributed widely over the community, and second, because such housing, properly done, is not mere spending but investment. Most or all of the money will be returned to the public treasury over the course of years. In fact, properly planned housing for workingmen is the safest sort of real-estate investment, for as British experience shows, it is not likely to get "out of fashion" and deteriorate, as housing for the rich so often does.
>
> Moreover, housing for the poor does not compete with any private enterprise. The speculative builder does not now provide decent housing for the poor, never has and never will.
>
> New housing is particularly desirable at present because the declining birth rate does not mean a smaller number of families, but a larger one. While in America the population is increasing at the rate of 16 percent, the number of families is increasing at 23 percent, and this fact alone has caused an actual shortage of at

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least 1,125,000 houses. It is true that in certain areas one sees empty buildings; but this is because of poverty rather than overbuilding. Families are "doubling up" because they cannot pay rent in two places. If the depression should end, a situation of acute underbuilding would be revealed.

British experience has shown that it is disastrous to attempt slum clearance merely by tearing down bad buildings and replacing them with better ones. Unless adequate provision is made for persons evicted from condemned slums, they move a short distance away and merely worsen conditions there. The only intelligent policy is one that plans in advance, and simultaneously, new housing outside the slum area and the demolition of slum buildings. Sir Raymond believes that in the United States slum clearance is impossible on a completely self-supporting basis and that subsidization is necessary. He adds, however, that this is desirable on social grounds, inasmuch as a slum in any city is as dangerous to the community as a tainted water supply.

British and other experience has shown that it is not enough merely to take people out of slums and put them in good houses. They must be educated, or re-educated, to live up to their new standards. Moreover, it is almost equally necessary to rescue people from rapidly deteriorating areas before these become full-fledged slums.

Even though slum clearance ought to be a part of comprehensive planning of cities and regions, and should be done from the long-time point of view, this does not mean that we should sit down and twiddle our thumbs while waiting for long-range plans to be made. It is well to act at once; but the important thing is not to do anything now to interfere with proper long-time planning. On the contrary, we must do things that will fit into it.

These views contain, we believe, the essential materials for a housing policy on the part of the P.W.A. While it would be easy to go wrong, it would be still easier, and disastrous, to hesitate because of the danger and do nothing. If the risks of slum clearance, and its economic limitations, are recognized, there is no reason why it should not be part of a plan whose main emphasis is upon new housing in uncongested areas. The important thing is that our views on the subject be completely realistic, and that the utmost possible pressure be exerted for action, action at once and action on a tremendous scale.

A Contest for Poets

SHOULD poets interest themselves in current politics? Should poets and novelists confine themselves to pure art, or should they ever write propaganda? This debate has been mildly raging for the last three years, ever since Michael Gold made his famous attack on Thornton Wilder. Gradually the issues have become so confused that we have even had the spectacle of poets writing violently propagandistic poems against the writing of propaganda poetry. It is time the question was clarified. It is time more evidence of a direct nature was brought to bear on an old debate. Accordingly, with the aim of calling forth such evidence, The New Republic is offering a prize for a poem to be written on a given political subject.

The subject we have chosen is the Reichstag-fire trial in Germany. It is a theme which offers all the elements necessary to a good political poem—drama, injustice, death, courage, anger and issues that are stirring the world. In the courtroom at Leipzig appeared a host of memorable figures. Here was Göring, the impotently raging Minister; here was Torgler, so sure of his innocence that he had surrendered himself; here was the Dutch waif, Marius van der Lubbe, concealing his real accomplices and yet at the same time refusing to implicate the innocent men who were standing trial with him, even though the cost of this refusal was his own life. Here, bravest among the defendants, was Dimitroff, the seasoned revolutionist, who acted as his own lawyer and outwitted and outfaced all the politicians and perjurers brought forward to confound him. And here in the distant background, but nevertheless present in spirit, were workingmen parading and protesting all over the world and finally forcing a verdict which had at least the appearance of being in accord with the evidence.

There are a hundred angles from which this subject can be treated. We leave that choice to the poet himself, asking only that he write a poem about the trial, and not a mere piece of platform eloquence. There are no restrictions as to form and length, but poems shorter than forty lines will be considered more favorably. The prize will be $25. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Poetry Contest Editor, should be accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes if they are to be returned to the author, and must reach this office on or before April 15. If poems which don't win the prize are worthy of publication, they will be paid for at our usual rate. And if no poems come in that are worth printing, we shall regretfully decide that the art-for-art's-sake critics have gained a point in the argument, and shall devote the money to buying sonnets on Truth, Love and Beauty.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1934, IN THE U. S., BY THE NEW REPUBLIC, INC., 421 WEST 21ST STREET, NEW YORK CITY. BRUCE BLIVEN, PRESIDENT. DANIEL MEBANE, TREASURER.

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RATES: SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR.

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The Challenge to the Engineers[1]

WHAT WAS the special nature of the contribution to our culture made by Frederick W. Taylor? One might say that he was remarkably successful in finding ways to do more work with less effort. This description ranks him with great inventors, but does not distinguish him from those who developed the steam engine, the electric generator or the belt conveyor. It gives little hint of the reason why a society bearing his name should be concerned with management. What Taylor brought to the progress of the arts was not simply the application of science to production, or the discovery of means to increase productiveness. It was the realization of the truth that the act of production is a complex of numerous factors, needing organization as a unitary process. The mechanical inventor supplies tools, machinery, materials, power. The workman supplies skill. The manager gives instructions. Taylor and his successors have brought scientific method to the organization of all these factors. Only by the best combination of the material, the operative skill and the directing intelligence can the most efficient productive unit be set up. Only by the best combination of productive units can an efficient industrial whole be created. The qualities of the various factors are important in themselves, but these qualities cannot be judged except by their behavior in combination. Systematic, flexible organization of the material and personnel, in the workplace, the shop, the plant, the industry and, finally, in industrial society as a whole, is implicit in Taylor's application of science to management.

It has taken some time for the full implications of scientific management to be understood. Taylor himself, beginning with the smallest units, did not push his conception to its logical conclusion. When he devised routines for the more efficient laying of brick, for example, it seemed to him that this was in itself a completed contribution to the science of management, needing only demonstration in order to be universally adopted. But there were difficulties in the path of such improvements. Habits of both employers and employees were not changed easily. The employers were accustomed to an uncertain, speculative world in which decisions were made as much on the basis of shrewd guess as of recorded observations and rows of figures. They were accustomed to seek greater production of the workers by a combination of crude authority with reward of effort, rather than by a study of the right way of doing a job, of the authority inherent in the situation. The workers, in turn, were accustomed to rote methods of work unanalyzed by science, and when science came, they naturally resented it as a new manifestation of the arbitrary authority of the boss in an effort to get more work out of them for less money. Neither employers nor employees were living in an industrial society which was governed by science—whether a science of the production and exchange of goods or a science of the relations between human beings. An effort to treat minor units in this world scientifically was bound to encounter resistance as long as the large aggregates were so badly managed, or so little managed at all, as to subject the persons working in the smaller units to the risks of uncontrolled circumstance.

In attempting to overcome the resistance of the workers to scientific management, there have been three stages. The first stage was that of *argument*. Conventional economic theory taught that their fear of being paid less or losing their jobs, if they produced more in a shorter time, was an illusion. To make more goods with less effort was obviously the only way in which human society as a whole could grow richer. Greater efficiency would, under a competitive system, lead to lower prices of the product, lower prices would lead to larger consumption, larger consumption would provide enough work to take up the slack in employment caused by more efficient processes. But the argument has never really convinced the majority of workers, whether organized or unorganized. It was contrary to the experience of the individual. When better methods were introduced, piece rates *were* cut, and men *did* lose jobs. The orthodox theory perhaps worked out haltingly and in the long run, but individual workers could not wait for the long run. In the meantime the unemployed filled the breadlines. Usually it took a depression to reduce prices enough in relation to wage rates so that real wages actually were increased and consumption by wage earners could grow enough to absorb the unemployed in the ensuing revival. More efficient methods were introduced, as a rule, not as the result of the workers' consent, but under the pressure of the employers' power in a world where jobs were scarcer than men to fill them.

The next stage in the attempt of progressive management engineers to enlist the consent of workers was not merely to *argue* that they were wrong, but to *act* as if the management engineers were right—in other words, to enlist the coöperation of workers by promising them a fair share in the benefits of greater efficiency if they would aid efforts to install it. When time and motion studies were being made, it was contended by engineers having this program that they should be made in

[1] From a speech at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Frederick W. Taylor's graduation from Stevens Institute of Technology.

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the open, with the help of the workers themselves, and that the workers' help should be induced by promises that wage rates would be set in such a way that the operatives could earn more after the improvement. The principle was carried further in agreements for union-management coöperation, such as were installed on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and in a few other enterprises. But this effort met two overwhelming obstacles. One was that the majority of employers could not be induced to accept the program. They did not believe the theory that workers would benefit from increasing efficiency with enough conviction so that they were willing to make binding promises of benefit in concrete cases. If one competitor held up piece rates after productivity was increased, another failed to do so. And even in the cases of union-management coöperation, one management could not raise wages above the level prevailing in the industry. Workers in the coöperating concern might feel a temporary benefit in fuller employment, but even this advantage disappeared in the onslaught of a terrific depression resulting from the large maladjustments of our chaotic economic order. Coöperation in a few individual cases only was not effective; management was unable to fulfill its promises.

We are now in the third stage—an effort to apply coöperation on an industrywide, and a nationwide, scale. It is generally admitted by the more progressive that not only must scientific management govern individual work places, shops and plants, but whole industries and, indeed, the entire industrial and financial complex, if what is gained in particular is not to be lost in a general confusion. And it is the theory, at least, of the law under which this attempt is being made, that the effort to manage must enlist the coöperation of organized labor and of the whole population in its function as consumers. But disturbing tendencies are becoming manifest in this new effort. Much of organized industry is not willing to permit organization of labor or to share responsibility with it. And it is resisting effective supervision by government in the interest of consumers. Employers, by and large, still do not believe, if their belief is attested by their acts, that the main purpose of industry is to grow more efficient in order that workers and consumers may progressively benefit by the production of more wealth in less time. At least they are unwilling to accept any full sharing of power with workers and consumers in order that this end may be authoritatively sought.

There is, indeed, a real danger of reaction against more efficient and fuller production and consumption. There are signs of a return to the past down a number of blind alleys. Let us enumerate some of these mechanisms of escape.

Some industrialists, conscious of the gains which have been made in efficiency, are hopeless of ever giving reëmployment to those cast out of jobs, and are promoting a movement to settle the unemployed in subsistence homesteads or on subsistence farms in order that they may produce for themselves a minimum of food and thus lessen the financial demand on industry for unemployment doles. At the same time it is believed that by means of greater efficiency on the farm a surplus of food is being created, so that these castaways cannot earn a living by commercial agriculture. A new peasant class, living by the most primitive methods on inferior land, is being built up from the unneeded workers, in both agriculture and industry. This is being done while experts tell us that large masses of the population have never had enough of the better kinds of food—though perhaps the maximum consumption of wheat has been attained—and while it is a matter of general knowledge that great numbers are crowded in inferior housing and have never been able to afford ordinary conveniences and necessities of life, not to speak of refinements and luxuries.

There is also a tendency to give employment by offering useless or less useful work, performed by primitive manual methods—a straight reversal of the procedure of Taylor. This is done on the tacit assumption that we cannot distribute to the population enough purchasing power to keep the population busy at useful work, efficiently performed.

We have the agitation for returning to household manufacture of many necessary commodities, ably supported by the arguments of a man like Ralph Borsodi, who contends that distribution of the products of mass production is so inefficient that it eats up more than the savings achieved by modern factory technique.

We see, in Germany, a movement with imitators throughout the world, which embodies a fundamental challenge to science and reason, which exalts emotional mysticism in a return to outworn ideas like aggressive nationalism and racial prejudice. This movement is based largely on the interests of small producers and small traders who have been distressed by the competition of more efficient units, and who have been baffled in any attempt to share in the riches which modern industrialism is capable of producing.

And we have, in this country, an effort to turn the government of industry over to trade associations and the like, the main preoccupation of which seems to be to limit productive capacity, to restrict output and to maintain prices. I do not know of any association of business competitors, whether called pool, cartel or institute, either now or in the past, which has concentrated its effort on enlarging production and reducing prices. Rather, such associations tend to keep prices up to the point which will allow the less efficient producers to make a profit. There are many signs that business in the United States is now organizing, under relaxation of the anti-trust laws, as it attempted to organize while they were still in force, and did so organize in some cases with success, to practise what Thorstein

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Veblen so aptly called the "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency."

I submit that this situation constitutes a challenge to the followers of Taylor which they cannot ignore. The anarchy of competition obstructed their efforts and prevented the benefits which they tried to bestow from being enjoyed in full measure and for long at a time by the population in general. Now there appears to be some hope in the acceptance of the principle that industrial government must take the place of competition. But if that government is in the hands of profit-seekers who will, whatever their pretenses, attempt to balance production and consumption by reducing production instead of by enlarging consumption, there is no more place for management engineers in our economic order. Their skills and their aims will be at a discount. The crisis which Veblen predicted in his "Engineers and the Price System" appears to be sharpening. It is no longer sufficient for engineers to understand their own trades. They must know also how and why the price system prevents them from creating plenty to abolish poverty. They must insist that industrial government, in its avowed purposes and in all its acts, seek the goal of plenty, and they must not rest content until power is in the hands of those who will honestly and effectively do so.

So long as a minority of the population have first claim on what is produced, and can, for a time at any rate, satisfy their own desires while a large number of citizens remain in want, it is unlikely that the arts of production will be fully effective. But if the time ever comes when the farmers, the workers, the salaried clerks and all the rest of us who live by producing can say, "What we make is ours, and it will be promptly and fairly shared; therefore we can and will make as much as we want," the purpose of Taylor will be fulfilled, and the engineer will find his true place in the industrial order.

GEORGE SOULE.

A Tax Policy for the United States

II: *Gaps in the Tax Fence*

WHEN NEWSPAPER headlines carried the story that Mr. Morgan and his partners had paid no income taxes during several years of this depression, a stenographer was reported to have exclaimed, "My God! and I paid seven dollars." Thousands of other wealthy men have largely escaped the income tax by wriggling through loopholes in the law. Both to maintain the morale of the taxpaying public and to save much needed millions of lost revenue, the gaps in our system must be speedily closed.

CAPITAL LOSSES

Perhaps the most conspicuous gap revealed by the Senate hearings is the unrestricted deductibility of capital losses. Most of the star performers in the Wall Street cast used this ready means of avoiding the federal income tax. As the law now stands capital losses—that is, losses from the sale of securities or real estate—may be offset against current income even though such losses involve no payments out of current income. The result is that millions of real income now legally escape taxation, especially during depression years.[1]

Capital gains and losses should be recognized as a distinct type of income, and should not be mingled for tax purposes with income from other sources. The income from the regularly recurring sales of inventory is one thing; that from the sale of property held for investment and speculative purposes is another. The characteristics of these two kinds of income are different. They are usually carefully distinguished on the books of the taxpayer. More important, perhaps, is the fact that the present system of permitting capital losses to be offset against current income has a most perverse effect upon the public revenues. It abnormally inflates them during a period of prosperity, and deflates them during a period of depression when the public most needs money and there is far too little current income to tax. The law should be changed to provide that capital losses can be offset *only* against capital gains.

TAX-EXEMPT INCOME

A less vicious but even larger gap in our income-tax laws is the exemption or partial exemption of interest on government bonds. There are about $42,000 million of federal, state or municipal obligations the interest from which is wholly or partially tax exempt. To appreciate the size of this sum compare it with the national wealth, the latest estimates of which range from $150,000 million to $250,000 million.

Because of high surtax rates on the upper levels of income, persons with more than a million dollars of income find the net yield of a 4-percent tax-exempt bond greater than that of a taxable security paying a regular 10-percent dividend.

It is true that the alleged rush by large taxpayers to purchase tax-exempt securities in order to avoid

[1] The writer discussed this problem more fully in an article, "Yachts without Income," in The New Republic, July 19, 1933.

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high surtaxes has in the past been much exaggerated by those who opposed high income-tax rates. The Federal Trade Commission estimated in 1922 that the recipients of incomes of one million or more received only 2.5 percent of their incomes as interest on tax-exempt securities. The taxpayer as a rule has preferred to take his chances and his taxes in fields that offered far more lucrative returns than government bonds. And even now the wealthy will hesitate to surrender control of the largest and most profitable corporations or to dispose of their stock at depression prices in order to buy tax-exempt securities. But all the factors point to an increase in this kind of tax avoidance. Income-tax rates are high and may go higher; private investment may not offer as varied or as rich prospects as it has; tax-exempt securities are becoming more abundant.

But more important than the degree to which tax-exempt securities are used to dodge high surtaxes is the effect their existence has upon the morale of taxpayers and lawmakers. Those who possess large fortunes should not be furnished by the government with a refuge into which they can crawl at any time when the tax weather gets too rough for them. Those who favor graduated income taxes should not be obliged to carry forever the burden of proving that high surtaxes have not driven and will not drive concentrated wealth into tax-exempt securities. And those who favor some control of excess profits should not be confronted with the possibility that their program might drive investments into tax-exempt securities and thus weaken the income tax.

If it is argued that tax-exempt securities are necessary to facilitate public credit, the answer is that many countries, such as England, Canada and Australia, manage to borrow enough money with little or no use of this device.

Solution of the tax-exempt security problem is partly a matter of inducing the legislative body that authorizes new securities not to exempt them from its own taxation. There is no reason why new issues of federal securities should be exempt from the federal income tax, except that the federal government short-sightedly finds it easy and customary to issue them that way. Some states that have state income taxes have followed the example of the federal government by issuing or permitting their subdivisions to issue bonds free from state income taxation. Other states have followed the contrary policy without seriously affecting their credit.

Immunity from Taxation

A more serious problem is the exemption of state and municipal securities from federal taxation and vice versa. This is generally thought to rest upon a prohibition of such taxation in the federal Constitution. As a matter of fact, there is no mention of this matter in the United States Constitution. The supposed prohibition rests upon rulings of the United States Supreme Court, extending back to 1819, when the Court blocked an attempt by the state of Maryland to tax the business of the National Bank. The decision was based on the theory that only by giving immunity from state taxation to the instrumentalities of the federal government could the independent status of the federal government be maintained and its activities continue unhampered. Immunity from federal taxation was later given to the instrumentalities of the states and their subdivisions upon the same theory. This theory was later riddled by Justice Holmes, who contended that it is quite possible to give governmental instrumentalities all necessary protection without immunity from taxation by other sovereign governments. It would suffice if there were a simple rule that no discrimination against such instrumentalities shall be permitted, but that they may be taxed along with other wealth and income.

Government Salaries

Closely akin to the exemption of government securities, and based upon the same legal doctrines, is the exemption of government salaries. Governments have grown steadily in size and importance and the growth is likely to continue. As more and more employees work for governments, the exemption of the salaries of government employees becomes more and more serious. Scattered throughout capitols, county courthouses, municipal halls and public schoolhouses in the country are hundreds of thousands of employees, most of them able to pay some taxes upon their incomes, but all now exempt from either federal or state taxation or from both. Just why a professor in a state university or a state highway engineer or a city manager should not pay federal taxes on the same basis as a professor in a private college, an engineer with a private practice or a manager of a private corporation few are able to explain, least of all the people who enjoy the exemption privilege.

As a college professor who has shared with Mr. Morgan and Mr. Wiggin the privilege of paying no federal income tax, I must confess that I should prefer the company of the stenographer who paid her seven dollars.

Sooner or later the unsoundness and injustice of exempting from taxation so much ability to pay merely because it has some kind of connection with a government is going to be recognized and acted upon. We might as well begin on the job now.

The Supreme Court is committed in a long line of decisions to the rule that sovereign governments may not tax one another's instrumentalities. Recent decisions of the Court, however, and its present personnel, are grounds for believing that it might reverse its position if given a good chance. Congress should give it the chance by amending the federal revenue act to provide that henceforth the federal government will tax all salaries and all securities (except where it is now bound by contract not to tax); that it will do so without discrimination; and that a similar freedom is to be per-

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mitted among the states. The Supreme Court should have the opportunity to pass on this proposition before an attempt is made to promote a constitutional amendment.

Methods of Evasion

Probably no source of evasion of the federal income tax among wealthy taxpayers is more common than that of giving or otherwise disposing of property to members of one's family. This reduces the taxpayer's holdings and his income, usually without any loss of control over or benefit from his property. Although his beneficiary may be taxed on the income from the gift, the high rates of the graduated tax will be avoided. There are several methods that this form of evasion can take. One is outright gift, another is the creation of a trust, and a third is the creation of a partnership. In a recent case a taxpayer agreed to transfer one quarter of his business to each of three daughters in exchange for a demand note of $400,000 from each. The taxpayer retained complete control of his business and the privilege of distributing the profits as he saw fit. If at any time the daughters were dissatisfied, they could retire from the arrangement and receive back their notes. The Circuit Court of Appeals actually held that this was a bona-fide partnership, and that the taxpayer could be taxed only on his distributive share of partnership profits.

Under the property laws of certain states it is impossible to tax even the husband's entire salary as a unit. In these states the wife has a vested interest in half of the husband's income. A husband receiving a $100,000 salary is assessed on $50,000 and his wife on the other $50,000. This means that the higher rates on incomes above $50,000 will not apply to either half of the family. Since this rule concerning rights to the husband's income is not universal among the states, taxpayers with the same income are assessed widely different taxes according to the state in which they happen to live.

A considerable portion of this kind of leakage in federal and state income tax could be avoided simply by making the family the unit of assessing income. The income of husband, wife and minor children should be made a single base for taxation regardless of who has legal title to the income. There is nothing reasonable about the present rule under which a woman pays the same rate on her $5,000 income regardless of whether she is the wife of a penniless husband or of a millionaire.

In the case of Hoeper vs. The Wisconsin Tax Commission, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that it is unconstitutional to require the husband to pay taxes upon the wife's income or vice versa. But it does not follow that it would be unconstitutional to assess a tax on their family income, and then prorate the tax according to their relative individual incomes. As a rule, both the husband and wife benefit from their collective income regardless of which has legal title to it. Consequently it would not be unreasonable classification if family income were taxed as a unit, thereby ending an important avenue of present escape.

A fourth important source of evasion is the personal holding or investment company. This seems to have been a favorite device of Mr. Wiggin, who maintained not one but six of these "incorporated pocketbooks."

If Mr. X owns most of the stock of the A.B.C. operating company, he can exchange this stock for stock in the I.O.U. investment company. Any dividends paid by the A.B.C. Company then go to the I.O.U. investment company. Thus Mr. X is able to invest his earnings without receiving any dividends upon which high surtaxes might be assessed. Since inter-corporate dividends are exempt, the I.O.U. investment company is not taxed at all.

There is no good reason for permitting the personal investment company to exist. It is a tax-dodging device pure and simple and should be prohibited or taxed out of existence. Where a personal investment company is incorporated in Canada (like some of Mr. Wiggin's) its situs for taxation should be made the domicile of its principal stockholders.

It should be observed in passing that the revenue law now provides for the assessment at a 50-percent rate upon the income of any corporation "formed or availed of for the purpose of preventing the surtax upon its shareholders through the medium of permitting the gains and profits to accumulate instead of being divided or distributed." For reasons best known to itself, the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department has seen fit to enforce this provision of the law only in rare instances.

It was shown in a previous article that the proper balance of the economic system and the possibility of checking inflation depends to a great extent upon the adequacy of tax revenues in the near future. If all the income of the country were subject to taxation, we should find plenty of difficulty in meeting the obligations of government that have grown out of the depression. Certainly we can no longer afford to allow the taxpayer five or six alternative detours around taxes that he should and can pay.

There are those who are surprised to find that fortunes have continued to roll up like snowballs in this country in spite of the fact that we impose an income and estate tax. A few hours spent in reading the record of the investigation of Wall Street by the Senate Committee should prove enlightening to such people. If we wish to put some check upon further concentration of wealth, the least we can do is to eliminate the substitutes we have allowed wealthy taxpayers to take in place of their income-tax medicine.

The impression has become widespread that it is impossible to write an income-tax law which rich taxpayers with the aid of skillful tax lawyers cannot evade. We should not accept this conclusion with-

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out a genuine and vigorous attempt to disprove it. The attempt has not yet been made. Far too often in the past the law has been written and administered by people who were more interested in protecting the big taxpayer than in creating a just and productive tax system. The President and Congress have an urgent and manifest duty to mend our tax fences. And the average citizen is finally demanding that they do a thorough job.

HAROLD M. GROVES.

This is the second in a series of four articles. Next week Professor Groves will consider the difficulty the states are facing in finding profitable sources of revenue.—THE EDITORS.

The T.V.A. Builds a Town

THE TOWN of Norris, Tennessee, will be more than a memorial to the great liberal Senator for whom it is named; it will be the first example in the United States of what genuine, coordinated planning can accomplish. It will be a town in which human intelligence and human technical skill will turn the natural advantages to uses that will enable men and women to build a living, functioning, possibly beautiful community, rather than a realtor's dream of subdivisions or a landlord's dream of rack-rent.

Four miles away through the Cumberland foothills is the Norris Dam, one of the major power units of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and at Norris will be built a new, complete town for those whose work makes it desirable for them to live near the Dam. The sole landlord, the sole planner, the sole builder, will be the T.V.A. itself. Nor will time, congestion and economic shifts, the three great destroyers of the "model town," be able to strike at Norris. *There is no land for sale.* Indefinitely the T.V.A. will be the sole planner, landlord and builder. The land and buildings at Norris will be for rent only, and they will be for rent only to those who will use them—employees whose work leads them to live in Norris. So there will be no artificially encouraged congestion "down town" while the blight of abandonment and decay settles over an outlying section. There will be no arbitrary, eternal lot lines to block new streets or prevent the assemblage of large plots for future public buildings or industrial needs. The T.V.A. is aware that a town is a living thing; it cannot be "planned" into a state of eternal perfection and left to stand unaltered and unalterable. It lives; time changes its needs, its problems; only unending planning can keep it what its makers intend it to be.

In the meantime, how is the town to be started? What is it to look like? With what sort of lots and houses does the T.V.A. plan to start its child off into life?

Streets have already been graded, lots staked off and plans drawn for the first unit of 250 houses. Construction of the first block, 50 houses, will start at once and the entire unit should be completed by the middle of June or the first of July. It has not been decided how many more units will follow, but engineers estimate a maximum population of 5,000 to 6,000, requiring approximately four units.

The standard home will average four rooms, a bath, a laundry and a large screened porch in the rear. Materials and labor costs will range from $2,100 to $5,000 per building. The rental for a three-room house with all conveniences, including an electric heating unit, will be less than $20 a month. Larger houses will rent for as high as $45. Each house will be entitled to a four-acre farm plot at no additional cost. Some of the residents will have individual farms; others will pool their land and till it on a coöperative basis.

The designing of the houses is in charge of Roland A. Wank, New York architect, who in 1930 won the gold medal of the American Institute of Architects for his design for the Grand Street apartments in New York City for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Mr. Wank has decided to use no standardized, special style of architecture. Traditional materials are being used for building because they are local and therefore cost less; the emphasis, both outside and in, is on simplicity, so that all the money available can be spent on things that will give value, use and comfort to the occupants. The houses will have no cornices, moldings or other ornaments. They will be heated by electricity. This will be possible through the cheap power the T.V.A. will produce at Norris Dam. An electric range, a refrigerator, a water heater and numerous other electrical appliances will be furnished. Steel casements which will extend to within four inches of the ceiling will be used for windows to improve ventilation. Every house will have a large screened porch costing almost as much as a room but almost as useful in this climate.

Showers will take the place of bathtubs because they require less space and are more efficient. Wall board will be used instead of plaster because it is cheaper and can be applied without skilled labor. Skilled labor will be used by the T.V.A., but the hope is to make the type of construction at Norris so easy that a neighboring farmer who wants to build himself a similar house will be able to do so. It is for the same reason that the T.V.A. is experimenting with a fireproof type of construction that would be simpler to build than brick veneer. Every house will have an electric humidification system to reduce the heat bill, for properly humidified air is comfortable at a lower temperature than dry air.

There will be no building line in the town of Norris. Further, the houses will be staggered unevenly. No window of any house will command an unbroken view of its neighbor's kitchen. The details of location for each house will be determined entirely by the topography of its lot. Each lot will be slightly irregular and slightly different in size

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from the others. The T.V.A. town planners will see to it that there are not in Norris the wretched views almost inseparable from the subdivision type of development. The rear of a house will be as attractive as the front.

In the center of the town there will be a large common to serve as a park and open-air meeting place. A recreation field will be laid out next to the school. At one end of the common will be the town center, which will include an administration building, a hotel, a restaurant, a drug store, a barber shop and beauty parlor, a general store and a post office. All these will be built and owned by the T.V.A. It has not yet been decided whether the T.V.A. will operate them itself or lease them, but in any event it will not sell them. The Authority will not only build its school, but will operate it as well. Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, T.V.A. personnel director, formerly of the University of Chicago, will be the director. The school will offer grammar, junior-high and high-school courses.

On the outskirts of the town there will be a well designed tourist camp, a filling station and a garage, while surrounding the town will be a protective belt of park to prevent the encroachment of undesirable developments. Residents of Norris will also have the use of a large administration building equipped with an auditorium, game rooms, movie hall, library, canteen and lounge.

The cost of street improvements, water and sewer systems, grading, landscaping, storm-water drainage, street-lighting, public buildings, and cost of planning and overhead expenses together with interest on investment in construction, will not be added to the cost of the houses. And there is a sound economic reason for this: if the town had not been built, it would have been necessary to erect several more dormitories at the construction camp and several individual houses for foremen and engineers. For practically the cost of such temporary buildings the T.V.A. is able to give its town a permanent start in life.

Mr. Wank and his aides do not like the term "model town." They refuse to apply it to Norris. "We cannot make revolutionary improvements any more than we can pull rabbits out of a hat," Mr. Wank said. "Until mass production puts materials of the twentieth century—steel, concrete, aluminum, glass, cork, rubber, resin compositions, etc.—closer within our reach, we are confined to much the same materials as our forefathers used, and they have already made a pretty thorough job of exploring all the possibilities of lumber, brick, stone and mortar."

But though technical necessity limits the distance that the T.V.A. can go toward changing our whole accepted methods of town and house building, the steps taken at Norris are definitely in the right direction. They could hardly be otherwise. After all, as Mr. Wank remarked, "Private enterprise has made a sorry mess of housing."

JOHN T. MOUTOUX.

An Army Betrayed

Since this article was written, the revolt in Fukien Province has been suppressed. The Nineteenth Route Army, which successfully resisted the Japanese at Shanghai, has crumbled in the face of a Chinese force not much larger than itself. A possible explanation for its weak resistance can be found in reports printed in the Shanghai press that the political and military leaders of the rebellion received a bribe of $6 million (Mexican) from the central government at Nanking. If this report is true, the Nineteenth Route Army has been betrayed once more—and possibly for the last time, since in all probability the Army will now be dissolved as being politically untrustworthy and tainted with radicalism. In the meantime, Cantonese forces are advancing into the southern part of the rebellious province, so that their armies will soon be face to face with those of the Chinese central government. There is a likely occasion here for a civil war on a vaster scale.—THE EDITORS.

THE BACKBONE of China's latest rebellion, which led to the establishment in Fukien Province of a People's Provisional Government independent of and in opposition to the Kuomintang Government at Nanking, was the Nineteenth Route Army, a force largely composed of those brave Cantonese soldiers who justly earned the admiration of the world for their heroism in defending Shanghai against the Japanese attacks early in 1932.

The rebels, headed by the Nineteenth Route Army commanders and having as their foreign minister the ubiquitous Mr. Eugene Chen, issued a declaration vesting supreme authority in "a national convention of peasants, workers, students, merchants and soldiers," and proclaimed themselves in favor of the "complete emancipation of the workers and peasants, the repudiation of all unequal treaties with the imperialists, nationalization of industry and agriculture, the stamping out of all militarists, mandarins, gentry and landlords, freedom of residence, speech, publication and assembly, the right to strike." The Fukien rebellion, reflecting the instability of the Kuomintang regime, carried a stage further the disintegration of China as a political and geographic entity. It is of great significance that the rebel leaders, who were not one whit less feudal-minded and reactionary than Chiang Kai-shek, felt it necessary to embellish their banners with radical slogans. But the rebellion really depended on its central military instrument, the Nineteenth Route Army.

At the end of 1931, when control of the Nanking government was transferred to the anti-Chiang Kai-shek faction, composed mainly of Cantonese, the Nineteenth Route Army—till then engaged in fighting the Red peasant armies in Kiangsi—was

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quartered in the vicinity of Shanghai and along the Shanghai-Nanking Railway to ensure the safety of the Cantonese politicians. Also it had become infected with Communist ideas. But Chiang Kai-shek later returned to power and ordered the Army transferred and, if necessary, forcibly disarmed. Before there was time for this, the Japanese invaded Shanghai and a fresh chapter opened in the struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and his Cantonese rivals, a struggle which eighteen months later led to the separatist movement in Fukien, where the Nineteenth Route Army was transferred after the Japanese abandoned their Shanghai adventure.

In its heroic struggle against the Japanese invaders the Nineteenth Route Army was stabbed in the back both by Chiang Kai-shek and by its own high command. One would search history in vain for record of a baser betrayal of a country's national defense against a foreign invader. It was Chiang Kai-shek's real hope that the Japanese would succeed in wiping the Nineteenth Route Army from the face of the earth. He did everything possible, by his policy of "masterly inactivity," to ensure this result. A good third of the Army—10,000 men—was annihilated. Armed only with rifles, machine guns and trench-mortars, and supported by only 12,000 men of Nanking's 87th and 88th Divisions, it was pitted against a well trained enemy fully 40,000 strong and armed with all the death-dealing machines of modern warfare. Chiang Kai-shek sent no reënforcements at any time during the fighting. He kept an entire artillery brigade on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, while his personal fleet of some half-dozen Junker fighting planes lay hidden in an unknown spot. He removed the capital from Nanking to Loyang. A number of Chiang's generals urged that the marching order be given, but the answer that came back was always the same: "Wait." He lifted not a finger to help when General Uyeda started his big push, nor when the Japanese launched their systematic air attacks. He sent no money to pay soldiers openly complaining that they had received no pay for five months. He completely subordinated the interests of national defense to the requirements of his factional struggle against the Cantonese.

The first indication that the Chinese defense was crumbling under the repeated Japanese assaults came when the 88th Division, Chiang Kai-shek's own national guards, better fed and equipped but poorer in morale than the Nineteenth Route Army, retreated. Nineteenth Route Army men pushed them back from the rear, not hesitating to use machine guns to do so, and saved the day by a narrow margin. But a general retreat was, in all the circumstances, inevitable; and it was no accident that the first breach in the Chinese line was made near Liuho, a sector held not by Nineteenth Route Army men, but by Nanking troops of the 88th Division.

The Cantonese politicians and the high command of the Nineteenth Route Army were alarmed at the threatened annihilation of their armed force, their only stepping-stone to position and power. With the battle raging in full swing, General Tsai Ting-kai gave three successive orders to retreat. The soldiers, imbued with fierce patriotic sentiment, refused to believe their ears. They had taken seriously their pledge to fight to the last man, the last ounce of blood. The commands met with flat refusal. Officers led their most obedient troops to the front, where many soldiers insisting upon a continuation of the defense were disarmed. But many retained their rifles and continued peppering the enemy. Many of those compelled to retire managed to make their way back to the front lines. When staff headquarters learned what was going on they had scores of soldiers shot as "traitors." The Shanghai hostilities ended to the accompaniment of ominous rumblings of revolt in the Chinese ranks.

The Nineteenth Route Army commanders are almost entirely feudal in their outlook. The rank and file consists of peasants driven off the land. Their epic struggle against the Japanese invaders marked a turning point in the Army's history. It brought them into sharp conflict with the Army command. The conflict appeared not only in the heat of battle on the front lines, but even more sharply at the rear, both during and after the fighting. Wounded soldiers were dragged from their beds in Shanghai hospitals and executed. Their "crimes" consisted in demands for payment of wages five months in arrears, a share in the $3 million contributed to the Nineteenth Route Army by patriotic Chinese at home and abroad and compensation for the wounded and dependents of the dead. Moreover, they had murmured against the decision to abandon the fight. Civilian helpers of the army, young revolutionaries, were arrested, beaten and executed. Betrayal of resistance at the front went hand in hand with savage repressions at the rear, the stifling of protests, the killing of Chinese patriots.

After the Shanghai hostilities the decimated ranks of the Nineteenth Route Army were filled up with impoverished peasants from Hunan and nearby provinces and the unit was transferred to Fukien. Although the Army has been diluted, its fighting Cantonese core remains—the only Chinese force which has ever shown itself capable of fighting anything but poorly armed peasants. The bitter lessons it learned at Shanghai are still discussed in bivouac and around camp-fires. Such lessons cannot be beaten out of newly active minds by reactionary officers. The Nineteenth Route Army soldiers, betrayed, repressed, deprived of all human rights, will never again be a dependable force for reactionary purposes and the furthering of personal political ambitions. The Army is corroded with the rust of discontent.

C. Frank Glass.

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Washington Notes

Steamrolling down the Middle of the Road—A Bending Reed—Who's King of the Castle?

ONCE MORE the President has steered down the middle of the road. The steps he outlined in his recently developed financial policy appeal to neither the conservative nor the liberal element. He has not gone far enough in one direction to please either side. Nevertheless, there is nutriment for both in the plan. The conservatives take comfort from his move toward stabilization, and congratulate themselves upon the horrendous things the President refrained from doing. The other side derives comfort from his refusal to return to the single gold standard, from his fair words about silver, and above all from the fact that there is really nothing to prevent a further revaluation of the dollar below fifty cents, should Congress so choose. But whether the direction is toward or away from inflation even the authorities disagree, so I shall content myself with stating a few patent facts.

One of these is that, despite reports to the contrary, Professors Warren and Rogers still remain the chief financial advisers to the President. Hence, the new plan can be taken as their opinion of a logical following out of the Warren plan. A second fact is that if anyone—other, of course, than these two gentlemen—understands completely all the implications and ramifications of the plan, he has failed to show himself. Certainly no such person is to be found in either House or Senate. The final fact is that Congress will give Mr. Roosevelt the legislative authority he requests. It does not understand his plans in the least, but it will still obey.

This, it seems to me, sufficiently covers the situation created by the recent White House announcement on monetary matters, unless one chooses to enter upon a highly complicated discussion of the merits of the scheme and the risks involved. That the whole business is extremely delicate and intricate, that it will require no little technical skill to direct, and considerable luck if results are to be completely satisfactory, appears to be indicated by the portentous manner of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the new Secretary of the Treasury. The responsibility imposed upon Mr. Morgenthau is a heavy one, and it is not surprising he has lost the light-hearted air with which he took over his duties. No peacetime Secretary of the Treasury ever had to deal with such tremendous financial problems. By themselves they are of almost unprecedented weight. Add the task of managing the currency along untried lines and the thing is appalling. Mr. Morgenthau has every reason to feel and look serious.

As the days go by, Congress appears to become more, not less, amenable to the desires of the administration. In the House, there appears not even a remote chance of a revolt against any major White House measure. Nor is this disposition confined to the Democrats. It has infected quite a few Republican members to such a degree that Leader Snell of the G.O.P. privately concedes he can achieve no party solidarity in opposition to any important policy of the President. None of this is a question of principle or of issues. It follows from the simple fact that each and every one of these 435 members of the House comes up for renomination this summer and reëlection this fall.

Personal observation and analysis, letters from their constituents and political instinct, tell them that Mr. Roosevelt is stronger than they are in practically every congressional district. No member of the House wants to make his own fight unnecessarily hard, even in a district where he feels himself safe—and there are extremely few such districts now. Even in so heavily a Republican state as Pennsylvania this feeling prevails. It is evidenced by the caution of Senator David A. Reed, who comes up for reëlection this year. From Senator Reed came no shrill Republican cry of horror over the $7,000 million deficit and the $32,000 million debt. On the contrary, this friend of the revered Mr. Mellon expressed the belief that neither one was anything much to bother about if the President made good his assurance of balancing the budget in 1936. This from Mr. Reed, most regular of regular Republicans, would have been surprising if he were not confronted with a really serious fight for reëlection. Governor Gifford Pinchot is fully expected to be the candidate against him and unquestionably Pinchot will be supported by the Roosevelt following. If the Democrats nominate at all, it will be a perfunctory gesture and their real support will go to the Governor. The trend of the times is against the Reeds, the Mellons and the Vares. This was strikingly manifest in both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh in the recent mayoralty elections. Pennsylvania's Republican majority was so reduced in 1932 that no one longer regards it as an unshakable Republican state. Clearly, it is not Senator Reed's idea to array the Roosevelt sentiment against him any more solidly than necessary. Similar feelings are cherished by other Senate Republican regulars, some of whom, like the astute Senator Capper of Kansas, have openly declared it their purpose to go along with the President.

Enough of this leaning has been shown to make it obvious that the criticism regarded by so many as essential to safety—which Mr. Roosevelt himself said would be helpful—will not be supplied by the Republicans at this session. Nor will it be supplied by any faction of the Democratic majority. It has had to come from the progressive Republican Senators, some of whom are more than a little restive, not only at the lack of clear purpose of the administration but at the way in which some parts of the New Deal program have been allowed to develop.

For instance, such leaders as Senators Borah, Glass and Nye have been deeply disturbed at the plight in which the N.R.A. codes have left the little business man and the consumer. Senator Borah is particularly concerned over the increase in the monopolistic tendency and the effectual shunting aside of the anti-trust laws in the interests of the bigger industries. He and Senator Nye laid the problem before the President during the Christmas holidays, and received assurances both from Mr. Roosevelt and General Johnson that steps would be taken to true up the situation and put the whole N.R.A. business on a better plane. But beyond the rather ridiculous request from General Johnson

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that the two complaining Senators accept membership on a special congressional commission to study and make recommendations, nothing has been done.

Already, of course, some senatorial shots at the N.R.A. methods and results have been fired, and the whole scheme is likely soon to be made a general target. The dissatisfaction with General Johnson among the liberals here grows daily and there is an accumulation of resentment against his dictatorial tone and method. I have referred to the fight between him and Director Hopkins of the Civil Works Administration. It began a long while ago but was aggravated by the General's sharp attack upon the wages paid C.W.A. workers, an attack that brought an equally tart reply from Mr. Hopkins.

In this controversy Mr. Roosevelt at first seemed to lean toward Mr. Hopkins; but now it is being said that the cuts in the C.W.A. work-week mean that Johnson has won a victory. Quite a little about this has been in the press. What has not got any notice, however, is the genuinely bitter feeling between the General and Secretary Harold Ickes, a feeling based on the former's attitude toward the public-utility codes. There is more to it, of course, for the two men are just differently constituted. Mr. Ickes feels that General Johnson has attempted to interfere in things that were none of his business. The General feels generally contemptuous toward men of Ickes' type. The plain fact is that their lack of personal esteem is mutual, and is so pronounced that if both remain in the administration an ultimate open conflict seems inevitable.

T. R. B.

Washington.

Other People's Money

Hoisting the Elevator Men—A Valley of Dry Bones—To Fascism as the Vulture Flies

LAST WEEK one of General Johnson's administrators warned the Consumers' Advisory Council of the N.R.A. and the Labor Advisory Council that if they did not become more conciliatory they would be disbanded. It is interesting to know just what the cantankerousness of the Consumers' Council has been. Well, the Council has been protesting against the unconscionable boost in prices which has been going on all along the line. There is a notion that the codes of practice under which industry operates are made through collaboration of employers, workers and consumers. Labor had a good deal to say when the labor provisions of the codes were being considered. But the codes have passed that stage now and the code makers have got down to the grim task of arranging prices, fixing production and generally legislating about trade practices. In a large number of industries the code authorities are framing price regulations. The Consumers' Council has protested at price rises. I asked for some examples of these price rises. The figures are sufficiently alarming to call for protest. Here are a few. The comparison in prices is made between March and August.

These are wholesale prices:

	March	*August*	*Percent rise*
Percale (yd.)	.06	.13	115
Denim	.08	.16	100
Outing flannel	.08	.17	113
Men's cheap hosiery (doz.)	.47	1.08	130
Huck towels (doz.)	.80	1.30	63
Turkish towels (doz.)	2.35	3.85	64
Standard overalls (doz.)	5.00	9.25	85
Cheap work shirts (doz.)	2.75	5.50	100

The report abounds in illustrations of the course of these price rises. For instance, a retailer declares:

> We do a great deal of our business with the transportation people who consist of our bus drivers and trolleymen. In fact, we are under contract with these people in selling our shirts. Shirts which cost $15.50 a dozen wholesale now cost $27 a dozen. The retail selling price at the old rate would be $1.75. The new price would have to be $3.

Another retailer declares, "We formerly bought for $9 a dozen overalls which we sold for ninety-five cents apiece. Today they want $16 a dozen and if you ask a customer $1.45 he runs out."

What has been the result of all this? The textile industry was, I believe, the first to go into General Johnson's big show. At the time we heard a lot about the end of child labor and the great increase in wages. These were excellent things. But it will not do to raise wages if you raise prices still higher and particularly if you do not keep people at work. The papers reeked with the "great charter of labor" which had been brought into being by the General. Those who suggested that the features of the codes that were to come later would not be so pretty were called doughnut-hole hunters.

Well, the not so pretty features did arrive in the form of price fixing and production regulation. The gains in wages were promptly wiped out by price boosts. And of course the inevitable has happened. In the first three weeks of November, the Cotton Textile Code Authority reports, only two-thirds of the production was absorbed by sales. Inventories have piled up again. The cotton-textile industry has curtailed operations by 25 percent. The hosiery makers have reduced operations to three days a week for five weeks and, beginning December 22, the silk-textile industry cut operations 25 percent.

This year has seen an appalling wave of real-estate foreclosures throughout the country. Much discussion has revolved around this facet of the depression. But I have failed to note anywhere any effort to deal with the outrageous exhibition of vulturism which breaks out when a home falls into the hands of the courts. Foreclosure is the signal for a host of parasites to light on the foundering carcass—lawyers, court officials, sheriffs, newspapers, real-estate men and others.

I asked a lawyer with much experience in these things to give me an actual case illustration of the costs of foreclosure. He cited an instance just closed: a home with a mortgage of $3,500 on it. There was a charge for searching the title of $30, a service that could be performed under an enlightened title system—like the Torrens registry sys-

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tem—for fifty cents. There was a charge of $25 to a lawyer to "compute the costs." That is, someone had to go over the bill of charges, compute the interest and other items: a purely routine performance requiring about fifteen minutes of a clerk's time—value less than a dollar—actual charge $25. Just a little graft handed out to deserving court favorites.

Then of course the foreclosure and sale had to be advertised legally in two designated newspapers where no one ever sees the notice—cost $190—the newspaper's graft. Then when the property is sold an auctioneer must receive $50 and $5 for the use of the auction room, and a lawyer, a referee representing the court, must be present—another $100. Of course, the attorney who brings the foreclosure proceeding and represents the holder of the mortgage note is paid a fee out of the proceeds of the sale. His fee is the modest sum of $500.

Here is a total of $900, all of which comes out of the slender remains of the savings of an unhappy man who has gone upon the rocks and whose home is being sold. Of course, no one moves to correct this grave abuse. The lawyer keeps quiet because he gets two or three bites off the bones. The newspaper, the real-estate man, the court officer, the judge, the politician—all hold their tongues because all have an interest in the pickings.

Apparently there is no energy anywhere in our society to deal with these and hundreds of other abuses. For the benefit of those who do not know the whole history of the rise of fascism, it was this supineness, this utter lethargy of the state in the presence of age-old diseases, that led to the fall of the Italian state before the Fascist squadrons. Is something like that coming here when we learn that all these hoary maladies—speculation, bank disorders, our corporation laws, our impotent and ridiculous courts, our hopeless criminal system, our thoroughly rotten parties, our shameless business ethics—that all have within them a vested interest rooting somewhere which makes it impossible for our state to deal with them? JOHN T. FLYNN.

Labor and the N. R. A.

Trial by Avoidance—Choking an Eagle with Briefs—What Happened Under Section 7a

DOES Section 7a of the Recovery Act actually guarantee workers "the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing . . . free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers?" This is a question the National Labor Board must permit the courts to decide and it must do so without further delay. It is becoming notorious that employers are not only denying the jurisdiction of the Board, but even ignoring its decisions. A number of disputes came before the Board during the early part of January which it failed to settle satisfactorily—simply because the employers refused to concede the right of their employees to bargain collectively. Most of these disputes have received little or no notice in the press, though their bearing on N.R.A. policy is extremely important. Unless this sort of evasion and the practices of these employers are speedily penalized as violations of the Recovery Act, these cases—along with Weirton Steel and Budd Manufacturing—will become clear invitations to all employers to disregard completely the provisions of Section 7a. The cases are:

1. *Harriman Hosiery Mills of Harriman, Tennessee.* Last July the employees of this company became members of the United Textile Workers of America. On the day the union was organized the company dismissed the union leaders. Since then its officers have refused to take back either the dismissed leaders or some 500 employees who have been on strike since October in protest against their leaders' dismissal. The Atlanta Regional Labor Board was unable to settle the dispute, and the case finally reached the National Labor Board on January 4. T. A. Wright, Jr., counsel for the company, bluntly told the Board that "we will not agree at any time to recognize the union, arbitrate on propositions we are unable to agree upon, or to enter into contracts individually or collectively" with the workers. "We do not feel the law requires us to do so. . . . Collective bargaining does not mean that an agreement is always arrived at; we may trade, haggle, jockey over terms, but not reach an agreement."

2. *The United States Steel Corporation.* Though the employees of the H. C. Frick Coal and Coke Company, a U. S. Steel subsidiary, voted to have the United Mine Workers represent them, the company refused to deal with the union. Last October the company signed an agreement with President Roosevelt, ending the strike in the "captive" coal mines. It promised then that "if no agreement is reached in ten days the controversy will be immediately submitted by both parties to the National Labor Board for decision and both parties agree to abide by the decision." Now the company maintains that this agreement did not involve the question of union recognition. At a hearing before the National Labor Board on January 4, the attorney for the Steel Corporation declared that "General Johnson and the President will tell you that we told them from the start that we would not make a union contract and wouldn't arbitrate that question." That, he added, "is what we are making our whole fight on."

3. *"Captive" Mines Dispute.* On January 8 the Board heard representatives of fifteen steel companies whose coal mines are involved in the same dispute as that outlined above. The statement of W. P. Belden, representing the Republic Steel, is the epitome of the general attitude of these steel executives. "The real question," he said, "is whether the Republic Steel Corporation is required by law or anything it has done to sign a contract with the United Mine Workers of America; I respectfully submit that such is not the case. Since the parties make their own contract, and because we treat this proposition as a contract which has not been made is the reason why we claim that this Board has no jurisdiction, not in any obstructionist sense, but because we have the interest of the miners at heart." The Labor Board has now handed down a decision based on the ridiculous compromise that union representatives shall sign in their official capacities, but the name of the union shall not appear on documents.

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4. *Corcoran Shoe Company of Stoughton, Massachusetts.* The employees of this company organized a new union last November, the Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen. On November 6 they went on strike to establish collective bargaining and wage agreements. Approximately 200 are still out. The company admits that the Brotherhood represents the true choice of the workers (the Boston Regional Labor Board conducted a poll to determine this), but union recognition has not been granted. Joseph Corcoran, president of the company, told the National Labor Board on January 15 that "we will never agree to recognize this so-called union." Counsel for the company informed the Board that the company would not abide by an arbitration decision of the Board "if that means giving up further recourse to the courts. . . . As a lawyer I have grave doubts as to the jurisdiction of this Board."

5. *Whatcom County Dairymen's Association in Washington state.* The teamsters employed by the Association are members of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers. They went on strike last October (and are still out) after the Association had repeatedly refused to arbitrate the question of a wage increase. (The Seattle Regional Board found that the average wage paid amounted to $52.27 a month.) The Association has hired other workers and refuses to reëmploy the union teamsters. The attorney for the Association told the National Labor Board, at a hearing January 15, that the "farmer members of our association will not stand for any arbitration or displacement of our present workers in favor of strikers."

These cases speak for themselves. If allowed to stand, they will quickly reduce the National Labor Board to an impotent body, of little use to labor. Indeed, its present ineffectiveness is a hindrance rather than an aid to the unionization of workers. It would perhaps be unjust to say that the Board is deliberately nullifying the intent of the labor provisions of the Recovery Act. Yet its reluctance to enforce its own rulings through court action is having precisely that effect.

According to a survey just completed by the National Industrial Conference Board, company unions have grown nearly five times as fast as trade unions since the enactment of the Recovery Act. The Board sent a questionnaire to 3,314 manufacturing concerns, picked at random. These companies employed 2,585,000 wage earners, or 27 percent of all employed in manufacturing and mining industries. The report shows that 223 companies, employing 365,937 workers, had employee-representation plans in effect before the N.R.A.; at present there are 400 more companies, employing 678,141, with company unions—an increase of about 180 percent. Some 232 companies, employing 106,696, had trade-union agreements before the N.R.A., while now there are an additional 174 with 137,272 employees under such agreements. Thus, of the workers organized into unions since the N.R.A. 678,000 are in the company variety as against 137,000 in the independent trade unions. If this survey is a fair sample of what has happened in industry generally, it suggests that Section 7a has not given the independent unions any such advantage over the company unions as was hoped.

Histories and a Travelogue

OF MISS Garbo's performance in "Queen Christina" (now in its fourth week at the Astor Theatre in New York City) I can only venture that she seems to do well enough considering what she has to do. When she is the queen before her ministers she sustains the illusion of royalty, drawing upon herself for a strength and grace without which the regal attitude would be absurd. When she begins to swell with all the inflated emotions which have been pumped into the play in invitation to the popular tear, she commands herself remarkably, manages still to be a presence, but becomes an empty and a futile one. The vehicle of her appearance, that is, affords her a certain easy triumph: it also makes her silly. Taking the subject of Christina, enlightened despot, Lesbian, free-lance adventuress, it substitutes for all the strange facts bearing upon her reign and exile the considerably mildewed fictions of the Graustark cycle. To be sure, it borrows enough facts to make a setting; it indicates the Swedish court, and makes itself pleasant with glamor while it may. But then come the big scenes, the Od's-wounds-milady-'tis-but-a-scratch. In the end, it reduces the complex circumstances surrounding the abdication of a homosexual queen to a quick and wholesome elopement with the Gentleman from Spain. And here it reaps no profit from the fact that under the ambassadorial mustachios you can perceive the lineaments of Mr. John Gilbert, made up like the devil in a musical comedy and loving to beat anything. So the whole play falls down, echoing falsely. Its essential crumbling, of course, has come about not because it is poor history but because it has nothing satisfactory to give in history's place.

The Acme Theatre in New York City offers still another new historical venture in "Enemies of the People," a Russian film not too adequately translated. Here, as you might guess, the setting is more recent: Annenkov and the Allies are in Siberia, are making themselves dangerous and unpleasant, are finally driven out by the incoming Red army. The thing is suggestive, striking. I enjoy it, for I am easily taken with hoarse exhortations, scourges of God, men marching, nips with the enemy and other excitements. But hardly taken in. Filling itself out with a deal of inconsequential by-play, the piece at bottom is little more than a huddle of dramatic incidents, and escapes from melodrama only by virtue of a crowning seriousness. I cannot think of its many significances without being incongruously put in mind of the early Miracles, somehow. Everything represents something else, and the assumption is that the crude and hasty symbols will not only be accepted, but that you will be instantly in sympathy with them. The play does not have its own life and movement: it becomes eventually the dumbshow of a set of tenets.

But there is something else at the Acme, unadvertised, without precedent. In a little Fox travelogue you are taken 'way, 'way up the Yangtze River. Oh see the little people. See the town of Chunking. The streets here are steps, the title says. Here, it says, the foreign residents go forth in sedan chairs. Then, actually, the camera is put in a chair, and you can see the heavy crosspiece cutting into the back and shoulders of a coolie weighing perhaps

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ninety pounds, weaving and stumbling up the steps which are this very strange street, preceded by other chairs, and (it is to be assumed) other foreign residents, and underneath other coolies, weaving, stumbling, half-naked, half-dead. (This is the way they ride about, ride about, ride about.) Chunking is near the river gorges, and so naturally there now follow many quaint views of the junks working upstream with coolies on their sweeps. And suddenly you are right in among the frantic heaving lot of them—the shoulders, arms, the harsh faces, a bare foot, very dirty, slipping in sweat on the planks. The current is swift and you expect to hear backs crack, but you cannot hear anything: when they lean to the sweeps the coolies sing out EY-OH, but you cannot hear that. In some parts there is such a push of water that the many little men get off and spread up the bank, each with a warping-line over his shoulder, all clawing for footholds and bent clear to the ground and moving only by inches on the steep bank. As they strain out fanwise, the warping-lines make a fantastic web from the shore to the junk, which hangs sullenly there in the gorge without motion. (The quaint little fellows.) Of course the river here is very dangerous, the title says. Some time back, possibly for contrast, you have been shown a Standard Oil boat with a slick white officer on its bridge, steaming merrily along on the dangerous river. . . . Well, I am not very sure, but if true propaganda may be described as that which truly incites to rage and pity, then some Fox cameraman has, wittingly or no, pieced out the first bit of true propaganda that has come my way. It is smooth, ineluctable, damning. There is no bellowed moral: there is only the comment implicit in any travelogue, "But how engaging, how very picturesque!"

OTIS C. FERGUSON.

Monte Carlo and Moscow

THE Russian Ballet has never since Diaghilev's day aroused so much attention in America as it has this season. The most persuasive advocates of classical ballet appearing are, in this reviewer's opinion, the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe (an émigré group) and the two amazing dancers, Vecheslova and Chaboukani—of the Maryinsky Theatre, Leningrad—who have been appearing in Carnegie Hall in New York City.

With its first appearance the Monte Carlo group clearly reaffirmed the traditional technique, the cosmopolitan source of its inspiration and its higher aim to present staged and emotionalized symphonic music (Les Presages). Since its première this company has given nine different ballets including three Fokine revivals, reflecting the development of the Ballet Russe. In "Sylphides" there are the restraint and picturesque atmosphere of the classical ballet; "Petroushka" and "Prince Igor" take us back to the time when Russian artists reclaimed the ballet stage from foreign domination and became creators of a unique art in which the extravagance of their imagination, the stormy Eurasian temperament, found full vent.

However, the thematic content of the majority of the ballets given by the Monte Carlo group is of a lighter and more episodic character. The correlation of the Russian Ballet with music and décor by artists of different nationalities indicates the fusion of Eurasian Russia with the West. Their émigré existence, entertained and enlivened by Austrian *Gemütlichkeit,* French volubility, jazz, made them the exponents not only of the Russian Ballet but also of cosmopolitan art.

This company of sixty-four professional dancers came fully equipped with décor, with a fine orchestra, and is led by a ballet-master of great ability. The two Soviet dancers, Vecheslova and Chaboukani, came unaccompanied, without the ballet or chorus which usually go with such performances in Russia. However, the laconic expressiveness of a superbly mastered technique, and the vigor and freedom of movement conserved in that lineal beauty which marked the classical ballet of the former Russian capital, won the enthusiastic applause of the audience that filled Carnegie Hall.

Of the two soloists Chaboukani was the more successful. The athletic male dancer is still a rarity in ballet, where femininity has reigned supreme for centuries. Since the performances of the more mature artist, Mordkin, the stage has not seen a more vigorous and alert dancer. His breath-taking agility was proof that skill is held in high esteem in present-day Russia. The "Pas de Deux" from the ballets of "Don Quixote" and "Flame of Paris" failed to suggest the heroic pathos that those ballets aim to convey. The "calculated beauty" of their contrapuntal method did not reveal any close bond between imagination and action and has little relation to the new psycho-physical training now in use in the Soviet Union.

The few dances based on natural rhythm and ethnographical character included in the Vecheslova-Chaboukani program vaguely indicated the nature of the experiments now carried on in the various Soviet choreographical laboratories. Meanwhile, the ballet in Soviet Russia is faithfully preserving the artistic heritage of the classical school. In its successful presentations it has an emotional appeal for the great masses hitherto estranged from the art.

LYDIA NADEJENA.

CORRESPONDENCE

Waldo Frank and the Jews

[The New Republic has received many letters on questions raised by Waldo Frank's article, "Should the Jews Survive?" published in the issue of December 13. Space prevents the publication of most. We print below a selection that represents a cross-section of the sentiments of our correspondents.—THE EDITORS.]

SIR: What Mr. Frank says amounts to this: The Jews of Germany are altogether a bourgeois entity, as undistinguishable as possible from their neighbors. Hence it was quite a shock to them when they found themselves singled out for persecution by Hitler and his Nazis. It seems that they had almost forgotten that they were Jews and didn't know why they were picked on. So they raised their voices in loud lamentation and called upon the rest of the world to witness their innocence of any wrongdoing.

Comes Mr. Frank and says: Now it's just too bad you forgot you were Jews. It's high time you were reminded of it. Imagine Jews trying to live as softly and schemingly as the rest of the silly and selfish bourgeois, forgetting all about their great mission as Jews. What you should all try to be is little Spinozas and little Karl Marxes; then if you suffer, some fine fellow, like Mr. Waldo Frank, for instance, will rise up and say, How gloriously they suffer! Would that I could suffer like that!

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Possibly in the realm of Higher Thought, Mr. Frank's question, "Why should the Jews survive?" would be pertinent. However, from the biological aspect, which is the realm of daily life, the Jews, as any other species, are interested in survival primarily for its own sake. To my mind, our chief difficulty, and that which causes so much concern to Mr. Frank, is the fact that we have never forgotten our mission of being the "chosen people."

We have been altogether too much in the limelight. We have altogether too much talent. We have too many doctors, too many lawyers, too many professors, too many merchants—too many of everything on Main Street. We shine and scintillate too much altogether, and get in the way of our neighbors who want to do a little shining and scintillating themselves, our great mission notwithstanding. For our own good, it were much better that we retire for a while, and take a more quiescent attitude towards everything. And I am inclined to think that the entire world would be better off if we were more in the background of things instead of always in the forefront. The rhythm of advancing justice is too frequently disturbed by the injection of Jewish hates and Jewish questions. The presence of Jews in the forefront of any struggle seems to befuddle the main issues. It was the part of wisdom for the Soviet leaders to suppress the fact of Trotsky's Jewishness and treat it as a libel spread by the enemies of the Soviet republic.

It is of the utmost importance for Jews in the face of conditions of today, here and elsewhere, to cease being bourgeois. In this instance I agree with Mr. Frank, but for a different reason. We are not a very successful bourgeois class. Our reputed wealth is largely mythical. We depend entirely upon the good will and patronage of our neighbors. Too long have we been living on the crumbs of society, the convenient target of political jugglery in times of stress. Neither have we the means, nor the desire to buy off would-be Nazis in this or any other country.

Our only salvation is to forget for a while that we are the aristocrats of spirit and culture . . . We must get away from the centers of population and become more unified.

Merna, Neb. JEANNETTE FRISCH KROLL.

SIR: The motivation for Mr. Frank's article will give comfort to a growing number of people who arrive at the point of recognizing the role of the working class as their liberators. But his incompatibility with that class, his reluctance actively to face the future, these indelible marks of the dying class upon him, set him in search of irrelevant justification for his present impasse.

New York City. JOSEPH GREGG.

SIR: An amazing feature of Frank's article is that any man who has any claim to knowing anything relevant to the subject could write some thousands of words on the future of the Jews without once giving even so much as an intimation that there is on this earth such a place as Palestine. He may be ignorant of the fact that some hundreds of thousands of Jews, whose number is being augmented rapidly in spite of the objections of Arab politicians and what amounts to racketeers, and notwithstanding the bureaucratic supineness of the British administrators before these objections, are showing that they are able to meet the challenge of survival with courage, decision and action. I suspect, however, that there is something deliberate about Frank's ignorance on this point. I imagine that anything so forceful and clean-cut as the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland could not fit into his dark little scheme of destruction.

New York City. EDWARD A. NORMAN.

SIR: Allow me to congratulate you upon your publication of the most brilliant analysis of the Jewish question by Mr. Waldo Frank. Please assure Mr. Frank that many Jews, among the intellectuals particularly, have already embraced the religion of Marx and Spinoza.

New York City. A JEW WHO HAS.

SIR: Here we have a Marxian, internationalist and (I assume) an atheist, who contends that the only justification for the Jew to survive is that he fulfill his mission as the chosen people and produce the Messiah for the religion, of course, of Mr. Waldo Frank.

One really hates to mock Mr. Frank's article, written as it is with such sincerity and lofty idealism, but verily in his hour of adversity Mr. Frank "got religion."

Philadelphia, Pa. MARTIN FELDMAN.

SIR: Frank's article is exceedingly interesting, as well as misleading and disappointing. It is interesting in its thesis that the Jews should survive that they might keep alive the notion of a Spinoza-istic God till the proletariat finds time to relax from the class struggle and recognize the truth of the notion. Bravo! The Jews have a new mission.

And therefore the Jews must remain a peculiar people, accepting Marx and preaching Spinoza till "the day when men, free from fear and hunger, learn to look within themselves where God is." It means persecution—it means being the scapegoat of the Hitlerite and "subject to the dislike and distrust of the proletarian zealot." But it is thus that the Jew earns his right to survive!

In short, Frank is seeking to enlist the Jews against industrial capitalism. Marx and Spinoza are Jewish prophets and of them and the Jewish mission, and the Jewish nature, Frank shall write a book—when he becomes a Jew.

Let Frank consider these things before his conversion: The Jew seeks righteousness and social justice. That means that he shall view the total situation before he undertakes to preach the unequivocal destruction of anything, let alone industrial capitalism—which certainly originally had a legitimate birth. That means that he shall seek to possess full truth before he subscribes unreservedly and irretrievably to a philosophy of God which is dogmatic and absolutistic.

HYMEN EZRA COHEN.

Chicago, Ill.

The Pope as Radical

SIR: I notice as I take up my pen your subtitle—"A Journal of Opinion." I had thought to write you indignantly, but my charity urges upon me feelings of sympathy and condolence for those whose opinion is so large in so many fields but so small in at least one other. I am wondering if your violent paragraphs of indignation over the plight of Spain are not the work of some poor fellow whose mind is caught under a cloud of prejudice and suspicion—suspicion of the same sort as is visible in the Alabama case which you so justly condemn there.

I would urge the editor of the three paragraphs in the December 20 issue to open his mind. Perhaps reading the Encyclicals of Leo XIII on "The Condition of Labor" and of Pius XI on "Reconstructing the Social Order" will clear up his difficulties. I am tempted to think that The New Republic is jealous of the very radical Catholic Church and of the present radical, His Holiness Pius XI. No clear mind could visualize him as hindering the economic betterment of any nation or people. He could do you "one better," as the saying goes, in reform in any economic way. Are you jealous?

New York City. ELIZABETH F. WOOD.

Extracts from Letters

HEARTY approval of the steps taken by the federal government to associate artists in the public-works projects moves the Woodstock Artists' Association to write us a letter full of thankfulness "that at last the government has taken a much needed step, a step which we hope will bring about—if not a Secretary of Art, at least a permanent interest by the government in all matters pertaining to the arts."

The Continental Committee on Technocracy has issued a revised edition of its study of the mechanics of social distribution, "The Plan of Plenty." "The fundamental problem," the Committee writes, "is to obtain distribution of the extraordinary 'real' wealth now at the disposal of society. By the scientific application of power, we have entered into a veritable era of plenty in which not only food, clothing and other essentials are abundant, but many so-called luxuries, such as automobiles, radios, etc., could be produced in quantities sufficient to satisfy all needs."

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International Exhibition

AS ART the designs that make up such an exhibition as that at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City are subject to two classifications. Some of them, in themselves as they hang on the wall, stand up as pictures, conceptions or decorative designing. At the same time it does not by any means follow that these would or would not guarantee an excellence as actual stage settings. For example, Mahnke's designs for "Julius Caesar" in the drawings suggest fine things, but the photographs of the actual setting, *in situ,* are nothing but banality. And vice versa.

The International Exhibition of Theatre Art was assembled for the most part by Mr. Lee Simonson, whose devotion and labor must be acknowledged at the outset. It covers the work done for the theatre during three centuries by painters and architects. Such works have been a port of the theatre itself, their esthetic value, therefore, as Mr. Simonson in his preface to the catalogue says, cannot be wholly isolated in an exhibition hall. A world unsettled and moving quickly from doctrine to doctrine, system to system, is reflected in as many shifting theories and practices in the arts, not least in painting; and to a considerable extent painting theories pass into the field of theatre décor. One of the chief virtues of the collection assembled is that there is no effort to promote a theory, to point a trend in the esthetics of theatrical décor or to vindicate any one method or school. Of that fact Mr. Simonson and what collaborators he may have enjoyed here and there on the side have every reason to be proud.

The superb range of names and subjects begins with Serlio (1473-1554) and Primaticcio (1504-1570), both Italians, both architects, both called to France by François Premier, and from them we go on to the great Inigo Jones in England. There are shown six of his designs, all impossible without their Italian basis but yet boasting something of their own, especially so in their feeling, characteristically English, for landscape. Vigarani and Bérain are well represented; but not very well the Bibiena family, who ruled the European baroque theatre for a century and more. The designs of the French painter and architect Depréz (1743-1804), done for Gustavus III and lent by the National Museum in Stockholm, run to the number of twenty-two, unequal in quality but of great interest.

As representative of the pioneers of modern theatre décor we find the designs of Duke George II of Saxe-Meiningen, who perhaps represented the top of theatre development during the period 1870-90, Adolphe Appia and Gordon Craig. A remarkable list of Appia designs, including various accompanying models, has been secured, some of them innovations in Wagnerian décor, three for Glück's "Iphigenia in Aulis" and others. From Gordon Craig there are twelve etchings, 1907, monolithic variations, termed in his own preface his most serious work.

The modern collection brings in enough countries to satisfy the most quantitative among us. It includes Austria—Bahner, note the Hall of the Duke in "Twelfth Night," and Strnad, note the setting for "A Midsummer Night's Dream"—Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Latvia, Switzerland, Hungary, England—note Mrs. Lesley Blanch—and the school of Paris, in which the listing is often merely residential—Bakst, for instance. The Bakst designs are to be studied especially by such persons as have seen so many borrowings, stealings and second-hand repetitions of him that they have forgotten what the original actually was. Barsacq's drawings Nos. 270 and 271 for Jonson's "Volpone" refresh this Paris section. There is a deliciously witty design (for the ballet "Lajarre") by the Italian Chirico. Germany supplies over a hundred designs and models, Daniel, Sievert, Pilartz, Wildermann and so on; and Sweden almost sixty, among them Grünewald's notable costume drawings.

The collection from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics arrived three weeks late and is not yet shown. The Mexican theatre, with at least one of the happiest talents in all modern décor, Miguel Covarrubias, is left out.

From the United States of America 142 designs and various models are shown. Aline Bernstein, Angna Enters, Norman-Bel Geddes, Robert Edmond Jones, Donald M. Oenslager, Jo Mielziner, Lee Simonson, Cleon Throckmorton, are among the eighteen represented. The omission of Ernest de Weerth, Albert Johnson and Raymond Sovey is incomprehensible, in the light of the fact that all of them have done stage décor far superior to many of the American designs shown.

A vigorous study is to be found in tracing through this exhibition the phases of theory and practice as regards stage décor, its relation to the drama invested, and its function of relating the actor to the world implicit in the drama he enacts. The exhibition has in several instances arranged for this very exercise by grouping together designs by more than one artist for the same play—as in the numerous designs for "Hamlet," none of which, to tell the truth, seems important, or as in those for "The Emperor Jones," of which Mr. Cleon Throckmorton's "The Edge of the Woods," No. 617, is by far the best. Mr. Geddes shows an assortment of drawings and models for "Aida" which alone of any that I have seen for this opera (usually produced in such wildfire shambles and voluptuous barbershop effects) create a décor that might contain and dignify the outline of Verdi's drama and music. Mr. Robert Edmond Jones shows distinguished settings for "Othello."

Despite the great renown of Appia it seems to me a good place, now that we have so remarkable a chance to see his drawings and models, to record an opinion. Appia did transfer to the stage the impressionistic and neo-impressionistic painters' discoveries with regard to light. He used paint to receive and reflect light, and so on. To say that in Appia's designs for Wagner's opera "the stage setting achieves the direct emotional force and the fluidity of music" may be true—for Wagner's opera. But many great dramas need for their décor something that is not quite the "direct emotional force"; and fluidity, if not always of the most immediate, at least of the most distinguished and ultimate sort, will be apt to lie in structure or line. Appia's art at its lowest can run to moony slush exactly as "Lohengrin" can do. Related to Appia though it may be, the Geddes Dante Model has, I think, more fundamental solidity and, as it were, solid imaginative elevation. The Robert Edmond Jones "Macbeth," the Banquet Scene especially, I regard, for its inner, convulsive power and beauty and its profound tension, as above any among these modern stage designs.

STARK YOUNG.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Literature in Exile

AMONG the German writers whose names had spread throughout the civilized world, so many have been banned, placed in concentration camps, are in hiding or have escaped the new "German unity" by flight, that one wonders what is left of contemporary German literature. Indeed, there isn't much of it. Of those whose fame extended beyond Germany, the Nazis claim only Hauptmann, the late Stefan George and, with some reservations, Oswald Spengler.

Gerhart Hauptmann has long been celebrated as the representative of contemporary German letters. He is actually representative in the sense that he has shifted with each rising wind and has succeeded in giving an artistically effective form—he is a master in mimicry—to the confused emotional and intellectual reactions of the German middle class. In his youth, when socialism and naturalism promised to become a vogue, Hauptmann wrote "The Weavers"; it remains a single and, it would seem, an accidental incident in his work. Although Hauptmann remained in opposition to the German imperial system, his work never again cut beneath the surface of it. The neo-romantic movement came, born from the hopelessness of a rigid naturalistic determinism; Hauptmann joined in with the nebulous and hackneyed themes of "The Sunken Bell" and "Pippa Dances." When the War broke out, Hauptmann again turned, this time to a blatant nationalism. After the revolution, he became a pacifist and called himself a friend of Stresemann. In 1932, he permitted himself to be fêted by the Social Democratic regime. When Hitler rose to power, Hauptmann's position appeared uncertain; but not for long. There came his telegram to Mussolini and the gracious reply. And now we read of the productions of "The Golden Harp," hailed as Hauptmann's tribute to the Nazi victory.

A vastly more important writer whom the Nazis call their own is the poet Stefan George, who died last month. After the War his influence on poetry, literary criticism, philosophy and German culture steadily increased. George's most enthusiastic followers placed him above Goethe. The greatest number of these came from the ranks of Germany's nationalistic youth.

At first George's Latin background seemed irreconcilable with the "Aryan" emphasis that goes with Hitlerism. Another difficulty was his aristocratic pride, with its open contempt for the masses, a pride that sought by means of costly bindings, use of an antiquated vocabulary and a peculiar orthography to widen the distance between himself and the general public. But George's supposedly "pure" estheticism, content to be "speaking alone and pure with star and cloud," was, like all estheticism, not pure in its effects. After the War, his circle became the intellectual rallying pivot for Germany's patriotic youth.

In "Das Neue Reich" he presented a picture of a future Germany reborn out of blood and spirit. Along with the nationalistic idea came that of the great leader. George himself became the center of worshipful admirers. From the idealization of virile heroism, the George-circle went on to the derogation of women. In place of love between the sexes, it held up the "Greek ideal" of manly comradeship; and George himself paid glowing tribute to one Maximin. The Nazi tendencies of this movement reached their high point in the advocacy of force and in the praise of war. Although George condemned the class struggle, he called peace "the heritage of broken hearts." Back in 1913 and again in 1921, he preached a "holy war" against democracy and liberalism:

> Too late for patience and cure
> Ten thousand must the holy madness seize
> Ten thousand must the holy pestilence slay
> Tens of thousands the holy war.

Oswald Spengler cannot so readily be fitted into the Nazi philosophy, primarily on account of his prophesying the inevitable decline of Western culture. This prophecy runs counter to the Nazi faith in the world's salvation through the rebirth of the Nordic race. The Nazis also resent the fact that in his recent "Years of Decision," Spengler fails to endorse their program wholeheartedly. On the other hand, they welcome his attack on rationalism and scientific method, his apotheosis of the intuitive and the soulful; they approve his diatribes against Judaism, internationalism and humanitarianism, as well as his notion of the unique mission of *Volk*. They are warmed by his prophecy of the coming of Caesarism. Finally, Spengler's explanation of cultural differences as rooted in "souls" rather than in concrete social forces plays into the Nazi reaction, as does his contention that unemployment today is due to the encroachments of "the colored races, including in this context the Russians."

The idea of the superior purity of the Germanic blood dominates all the writers favored by the Nazis. Adolf Bartels stands out as the godfather of this racial obsession. Bartels, whose emotional outbursts have been collected in a book called "Race and National Life," accepts the fantastic racial theories of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and the Comte de Gobineau. His essays are invectives against *das Judentum* and are primarily concerned with revealing traces of "Jewishness" in its German writings. And with unwearying repetition he extols the German *Geist*. Once he tries to define this element: "Well, it is the spirit that our history teaches, the spirit that lived in our great men." There follow some further mystic formulas: "It is the spirit that is the product of our blood, of our great development." More specifically, its unique essence consists in that it "now says yes, and now says no." All obscurities are finally removed, when Bartels insists that this *Geist* is not "misleading, but true, honest, indubitable."

Three Nazi writers, Paul Ernst, Hanns Johst and Gottfried Benn, are more closely connected with the movement and are enjoying a wide prestige in Germany.

Shortly before his death, early in 1933, Paul Ernst declared himself in accord with the principles of National Socialism. Ernst began as a naturalist, a Tolstoyan and a Marxist. He soon, however, abandoned these positions. His "Road to Form" became the formal statement of the neo-classical reaction against the Naturalist movement. In 1921, Ernst published "Spirit, Awaken!" a summons to revolution against the Social Democracy, urging the installation of a dictator. While he enjoyed the reputation of being a pure classicist, Ernst wrote that the way to freedom

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can be won "only when 10,000 scoundrels shall be hanging in the streets of our cities."

Hanns Johst is the poet at present held in high national esteem; his drama "Schlageter" has been acclaimed throughout the new Reich. Yet "Schlageter" is not so much a drama as it is a hysterical denunciation of internationalism, liberalism, Marxism, culture, etc. The cultural theme of the play is sounded early by a Professor Thiemann: "I know that rubbish of 1918. Brotherhood, equality, freedom, beauty and dignity! No, away with the whole philosophy-mess. When I hear the word Kultur, I pull out my revolver!" This blood-philosophy is warmly received by Schlageter. He is urged to join his colleagues in the Ruhr, where the passive resistance offered by the government to the French is to be counteracted by some spectacular action. Schlageter wavers and when his friends leave him, he is despondent. But the smile of a German girl (she neither drinks nor smokes) shows him the way. Looking into her eyes, he suddenly sees his divine mission: "My God, Alexandra, the world is beautiful! And peaceful! It stands still and it smiles." He goes to the Ruhr, where he is captured by the French and sentenced to be shot. The final scene shows Schlageter bound, "as if he were bearing the entire world." His last words are: "Germany! A final word! A wish! Command! Awake! Kindle! Light up! Burn monstrously!"

Gottfried Benn's affiliation with Hitlerism has been hailed by the Nazis as testimony to the fact that their doctrines exert an appeal to those who have been regarded as pure in heart. Benn, who had actually been highly thought of, was taken to task by his former colleagues, now in exile. In a recent book, "The New State and the Intellectuals," Benn attempts to counter their charges. He begins by claiming that he has never been either "left" or "right," since the creative principle is always central—and at once proceeds to explain why he supports the Nazis. What is going on in Germany is not at all a mere political change. It is a question of "a new vision of the birth of man, perhaps of an old, perhaps of the last grand conception of the white race." All this cannot be understood by the rationalist. Fortunately, the new German is not a reasonable, but a metaphysical being. He concludes with mixed and mystical metaphors: "Be deficient in the quality of conciliation! Shut the gates! Build the state! We must breed large brains today, which will defend Germany, brains with eyeteeth, teeth with the power of the thunder-bolt!"

For the rest, Nazi literature reveals third and fourth-rate names. Of these, Hanns Heinz Ewers (now apparently once more at peace with the Hitler government) enjoys great popularity. Ewers, once a vaudeville actor, is the editor of such pornographic books as "The Kama-Sutra" and "The Perfumed Garden." His own novels are packed with incest, prostitution, masochism and tragic chance. In his "Riders of the Night," written under the direct encouragement of Hitler, this mystical pornography appears hallowed in the service of the national cause. Similar leanings directed him toward writing his biography of Horst Wessel, which is now one of the best selling books in Germany. Ewers lays his emphasis on the less savory side of his hero's life and makes a good deal of the fact that Wessel lived in the underworld of Berlin with a Communist prostitute.

Such is the state of German literature under the Third Reich. Fed on a mythical and reactionary anthropology and politics, engulfed by a spectacular, nation-tight propaganda, its writers have been led to abandon reason and understanding, substituting for them blood and iron, Soil and Folk. The veil of mysticism has blinded them to the realities of political oppression. Their art, too, reveals that it is not flourishing in this atmosphere.

Where, one asks, are Germany's literary masters? They are not to be found in the ranks of Nazidom, but must be sought elsewhere. They are to be found in the German concentration camps; they are abroad or in hiding; they are among the homeless, despised and destitute. They will be found in exile. The list includes what is perhaps Germany's greatest literary figure since Goethe, Thomas Mann. It includes Germany's great novelists, Alfred Döblin, Heinrich Mann, Arnold Zweig, Oskar Maria Graf, Jacob Wassermann (whose sudden death may be partially ascribed to the Nazi scourge) and Lion Feuchtwanger; it includes the works of such poets as Werfel, Becher and Mombert; it includes scores of others, critics and dramatists of the first rank. Hence, one can only echo the cry of the banned and exiled that in *their* camp must Germany be sought, the Germany of culture and social responsibility. Alfred Kantorowicz writes:

> For every true German, wherever he may be, it is hostile, foreign territory where Hitler and his cohorts are enslaving millions of German workers and are thoroughly exterminating every historic idea of German culture. In the German concentration camps, where tens of thousands of Germany's finest workers and intellectuals of the most progressive consciousness are being tortured by sadistic state-slaves—*there is Germany*. In the prisons, where the front-fighters for social and national freedom vegetate, half or almost totally beaten to death, *there is Germany*. . . . And finally, there where we are, we *German* emigrants in Paris or Zurich, in Prague or Amsterdam, in Madrid or Saarbrücken, we who are determined to win back liberty for and with the best Germans, freedom from the foreign conquerors in brown uniforms, *there is Germany*. . . . Foreign serfs, supported by capital and without a faint notion of the cultural meaning engraved in the word "Germany," reign today on German soil. They have made a prison of this land, in which there are only captives and jailors. Whoever fights them is acting *for Germany*. . . . *Germany is in our camp.*

HARRY SLOCHOWER.

The Commodity Dollar

Prices, by George F. Warren and Frank A. Pearson. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 414 pages. $3.90.

THIS VOLUME, published a year ago, has assumed a new importance since one of its authors, Professor G. F. Warren, has been advising the President on questions of monetary policy. Even now, it will scarcely be read by the general public. It contains 185 charts and 75 tables. Thousands of other statistical data and items of historical information are sprinkled through the text, along with the usual explanation of what the charts and tables reveal. As one reads, one visualizes the authors at work—in a great laboratory, where they dash madly from bookshelves to calculating machines to drawing boards, then on to stenographers, with whom they occasionally pause to dictate sentences or paragraphs whose very style reveals a restless urge to hasten back among the facts and the machines.

The authors obviously have not had time to write a book. Instead, they have put together a rather miscellaneous collection of tracts and studies, most of which are distinctly significant for their statistical and historical content. To

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the volume as a whole, one's critical reactions are varied and conflicting. As a collection of materials for other students, or as a semi-popular tract calling attention to the seriousness of our monetary and banking problems, it is excellent. As economics, it is a miscellany of penetrating insights, sound observations and dangerously plausible half-truths. As statistics, it evidences a naïve trust in crude indexes and apparent correlations, and provides glaring examples of the sins of "raw empiricism."

It is unreasonable to expect that a single volume which is a mine of factual information shall also contain a penetrating analysis of the forces that produce industrial fluctuations and sound recommendations for monetary and banking policy. One's judgment of this book is adverse or favorable, according as one concentrates attention on the authors' efforts to demonstrate a thesis, or on that part of the content which can be dissociated from the general argument. It is difficult, moreover, to discuss the authors' general position, for the book contains little sustained argument or exposition.

At some points, the argument appears to relate to the problems of a supra-national monetary authority in a free-trade world. At others, the authors seem to recognize the advantages of independent national currencies. In spite of explicit statements toward the end, the reader feels that the authors, bent on overwhelming their critics with facts, have left their own theses or concrete proposals simply unformulated. That a monetary system which stabilized prices would be an enormous improvement, is almost beyond dispute—though it by no means follows that price-level stabilization is the best possible rule or objective of monetary policy. So far as the authors argue, on the other hand, that manipulation of the dollar price of gold is the best means for stabilizing the price level, one must insist that they have failed to touch upon the crucial issues.

They give only casual attention to the problem of banking; discussing monetary problems, they almost ignore the predominant element in our effective money. What is more striking, they give no attention at all to the processes and mechanisms through which domestic price levels are controlled under an international gold standard. There is no adequate consideration of factors governing the velocity of effective money during booms and depressions. The depression is conceived as a problem of debts—and the authors stick to this grossly inadequate (or simply wrong) conception, in spite of repeated observations on the seriousness of maladjustments between flexible and inflexible parts of the price structure.

Readers who anticipate in this book a cogent defense of the government's gold policy will be disappointed. While the authors assert that the price level may be altered and controlled by manipulating the price of gold, this position is never explained. By way of comment, let us formulate a few propositions which follow from most elementary analysis.

1. An increase in the dollar price of gold will improve our balance of payments and thereby transfer some of the burden of unemployment to other countries, *provided* those countries refrain (as they cannot) from effective retaliatory measures. (Thus, it represents the most objectionable sort of cut-throat competition internationally, and is an ominous contribution to the future of international relations.)

2. It will increase the dollar value of the Reserve Banks' gold. Perhaps it will politically facilitate more generous open-market purchases (thus encouraging the least effective method of injecting funds into circulation).

3. It may operate, by frightening people, to increase the velocity of effective money (thus creating a real danger of extreme inflation, while providing no effective check).

4. It will contribute handsomely to the profits of an already too profitable industry—gold mining. (Of all devices for feeding public funds into circulation, that of putting them into the pockets of gold producers is surely among the least commendable.)

5. Given no important change in banking and fiscal policy, devaluation makes it certain that the next boom will reach more fantastic heights, and lead to a more severe depression, than otherwise would have been possible.

Among the many good things in the book is a judicious insistence on the absurdity of "overproduction" notions, and on the folly of schemes for production limitation.

H. C. Simons.

One More Spring

Letters of Romain Rolland and Malwida von Meysenburg: 1890-1891. Translated by Thomas J. Wilson. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 274 pages. $2.50.

ROMAIN ROLLAND was twenty-four and Malwida von Meysenburg seventy-four when they met in Rome in 1890 and formed the remarkable friendship that was to last until her death in 1903. An instant sympathy sprang up between them, and she became "the serene light of his youth . . . the faithful companion of his spirit," who helped him to understand his own needs and to make the momentous decision of giving up an academic career for literature. She did more than this. She gave him her whole past, rich with distinguished friendships but vitiated by a romantic idealism that made her very soulful and a little less than honest. For, in her Memoirs, she rearranged her great friends to suit herself. "Her own song prevented her from hearing the songs of others," and "in those she loved she was willing to recall only the qualities she loved in them"—so, it appears, she destroyed some of Nietzsche's letters "for the sake of the purified image she wanted to preserve." A dangerous woman, so little, frail and quiet, dressed in black, a remarkable woman who could be a dominant influence in the life of a boy born when she was fifty.

He was indeed an unusual youth, with a sensibility and a need for esthetic-emotional expression which she satisfied and directed. They were united by their passion for music, painting, nature, and by their profound sentimentality; but he was, after all, of another generation, and tried in vain to make her appreciate Ibsen. He played to her for hours, they wrote each other some 1,200 letters discussing art, literature and the state of their souls, and were not ashamed to say at the end "I love you tenderly." Of course he married and had still another love, but in both cases he was unhappy. Malwida had foreseen this, and the one instance in which she seems a little less than ideal in her relation to him is when she—very delicately—displays jealousy and tries to force him to confide in her. To Malwida von Meysenburg, fate was unusually kind; at an age when she could expect little more of life it granted her a decade of warm and stimulating companionship, the joy of being necessary to a beloved young and gifted man who thus became her final hold on life, her dying spirit renascent, her immortality.

Clara G. Stillman.

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Including Sinclair Lewis

Work of Art, by Sinclair Lewis. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

Wedding Song, by David Burnham. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

L'Affaire Jones, by Hillel Bernstein. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.50.

Passions Spin the Plot, by Vardis Fisher. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, and Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. $2.50.

IT IS interesting to watch your elders and betters grow older. If they happen to have been heroes of yours, you observe them with a feeling more emotional than curious—you make pitying excuses for their "mellowness," their "ripe fulfilment of their early promise"; as their spurious colors fade you may even see some "grandeur" in their "starkness." But Sinclair Lewis has never been one of my heroes. I have always thought his reputation as a great American satirist was a great American joke; he always seemed to me as defenseless a romantic as one of his own Babbitt-businessmen. A satirist has to feel superior, and Sinclair Lewis has not felt superior since "Main Street." Being uncomfortable, and angry with the things that make you uncomfortable, is not the same thing as feeling superior. His "satire" has become a rudderless indignation, a stale and whimsical, turn-the-rascals-out liberalism, which has taken the specific form of caricaturing individual types he happens to dislike. His restless spirit is that of a high-pressure journalist, a roving reporter who covers one assignment after another, usually in a critical spirit but never from a critical point of view.

For the subject of "Work of Art" he has not sought very far. Arnold Bennett did it before him, in a longer book that seems shorter. But Bennett's "Imperial Palace" was simply a *tour de force* glorifying his lifelong love, the luxury hotel; he was too sensible a man and too competent a writer to preach a sermon on so dubious a text. Sinclair Lewis, on the other hand, not content with reëstablishing the already labored point that hotel-keeping is an arduous, highly technical and expert profession, must try to shock the bourgeois a little further by insisting that hotel-keeping can be a high and holy pursuit, and that literature as she is usually written is in comparison a scummy racket.

"Work of Art" tells of two brothers, Myron and Ora Weagle, sons of a country hotel-keeper in New England. Myron was a serious, priggish, hard-working lad; Ora a self-confessed "genius." Their ambition took different forms: Ora left home for the sties of Greenwich Village, the ultimate glories of Hollywood, while Myron went into the hotel business from the bottom, aiming for the top. Like the Horatio Alger hero his brother used to call him, he got there; but even after he was a big man in the hotel world he never forgot his ambition to run the Perfect Inn. After sinking all his money, experience and reputation in the project, bad luck and the venality of associates robbed him of success. Once more he had to begin almost from the bottom; the end of his story finds him running a country hotel in Kansas and revolving schemes for the Perfect Tourist Camp.

As a novel, "Work of Art" is second rate, in spots almost dull. It is, however, not only as a novel that we should consider it, but as a message. To the Nobel Prize Committee Sinclair Lewis stands as the leader of American letters, and though he is without that honor in his own country, we are still interested in what he is trying to say. What he is trying to say in "Work of Art" is that there is no substitute for honest work. But what he has succeeded in saying is that Babbitt is right. He has been writing about Babbitt so long that he is suffering from the effects of total immersion.

"Wedding Song" is David Burnham's second and, let us hope, last imitative novel. Hemingway's style, perhaps because it has not been completely original with himself, has been a dangerous influence on his youthful followers. The effectiveness of that style is completely dependent on its creating an impression of inevitability: once that is gone, the style becomes ridiculous. In "Wedding Song" the method—a dual narration, gradually synchronizing—is partly Faulkner's, the style partly Hemingway's, the failure wholly Mr. Burnham's. The plot, of an almost Elizabethan old-fashionedness, is all about Revenge. Kit (physically in his thirties) hates his rich father and has had nothing to do with him for years. While he is visiting his sister, who has married an Italian nobleman, in Venice, Kit mysteriously but effectively pulls the financial wires that are to bring his hated father crashing to his knees. Kit is really a caution. Not content with brooding over such wrongs as the death of his mother and his wife, and his own T. B. brought on by war service, he deliberately repulses an adoring girl with whom he is in love, and makes sure that she marries another man. Then, when he has filled his cup of revenge by not only bringing his father to terms but cuckolding him, he takes himself and his eagle-torn liver off into the night. If Hemingway's heroes are adolescents, as they sometimes seem, what can we call Burnham's but a little boy, fiercely imagining himself a desperate character?

Urbanity has never been a home-grown American virtue, but there is no reason in nature why it should not be. Some critics have already pointed with pride to the rayon-

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silky style of (James) Branch Cabell, and to the less pretentious writing of Robert Nathan, as indications that American authors can be polite without being prissy. Hillel Bernstein happens to have been born in Russia, but he is a *de facto* American. His "L'Affaire Jones," a gently uproarious satirical farce, tells how an innocuous American, living in Paris for the purpose of writing a cookbook to magnify French cooking, was arrested in a dispute over a stolen overcoat, and how his case became overnight a national sensation, the cause of riots, the center of melodramatic plots, and the stalking-horse for a pretty piece of diplomatic juggling in the matter of oil concessions. Along the way Mr. Bernstein kids French patriotism, politicians, press and public to a fare-you-well—all in a spirit of good clean fun. While neither so neat nor so mannered as Robert Nathan, Bernstein has the gist of the matter in him: he can be devastating without lifting his voice.

Vardis Fisher is trying to write an honest book, which means that it makes uncomfortable reading. Two parts of this apparently autobiographical novel have appeared, and two more are to come. "Passions Spin the Plot" carries young Vridar Hunter's story from the time when he leaves his parents' poverty-stricken Idaho farm for college in Salt Lake City to the day when he desperately tries to find a way out of his perplexities by marrying his easy-going sweetheart, Neloa Doole. Vridar is still the painfully thin-skinned character he was as a boy, but no longer quite so hopeless. College, he thinks, will show him daylight ahead. It shows him something quite different. His disillusion with college combines with his poverty and his growing suspicions of Neloa to make him for a while a completely anti-social being. With his conscienceless pal, "Forenoon" McClintock, he raises as much hell as his limited means and his dread of women will allow him. In a sudden revulsion he leaves college, goes home and marries Neloa, after tracking down and giving the lie to all the true stories that are whispered about her.

Vardis Fisher's touch is not light; his agonizing honesty is so searching that he compels the sometimes unwilling reader to follow him through all the painful and occasionally morbid reaches of his story. But the reader will have his reward: not only in discovering some rays of light amidst all this shadow—"Forenoon" is a rogue so completely seen that you cannot pass judgment on him, can hardly tell whether or not you like him; and the scene in which he and Vridar, both drunk, are surprised by their weeping landlady is comedy no less effective for being grotesque—but even more in the consciousness of having encountered a stubbornly honest spirit.

T. S. MATTHEWS.

The Old Adams

Honest John Adams, by Gilbert Chinard. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 378 pages. $3.75.

IT IS Gilbert Chinard's competent opinion that a first-rate man of letters was sacrificed to make a second President of the United States. John Adams himself inclined to this view. As he once wrote home to Abigail, from Paris:

> I must study politics and war, that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history and naval architecture, navigation, commerce and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry and porcelain.

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Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres were fifty years from the Paris of 1780, even by the most direct road; and to reach them by way of Quincy, Washington and Harvard would take twice as long. Accordingly, the republic of letters lost a worthy companion for Montaigne and Voltaire, and in due time America received "The Education of Henry Adams."

This would make a pretty idea for someone to follow up. One can only hope that Professor Chinard's publishers may induce him to pursue it further, for, as he says, the writings of John Adams never have been properly scanned; and he is by all odds the man best qualified to review them.

Here, of course, Professor Chinard has been limited to the doing of pioneer work in presenting to our view John Adams the public servant—the "old chief," stepfather of his country, First Citizen of Quincy, and one of the best hated men of his time. The result is a fit successor to the author's life of Jefferson, to say which is to say that it is a work of exquisite scholarship, and that all good citizens would be the better for reading it. Or ought one to say that they would be the happier?—thus bringing out the philosophical distinction which parted Jefferson from Adams. This distinction it is which Professor Chinard is careful to draw in his interpretation of the two men. Is human nature perfectible, as Jefferson believed? Or does man's famous right to the pursuit of happiness mean what Adams thought it meant: that men must be protected in the exercise of virtue? Over that distinction Adams and Jefferson differed from the foundation of the Republic to the end of their lives and, thanks partly to their conflicting efforts, political theory in the United States has been divided on that issue ever since.

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Books in Brief

RELIGION

THE ORDEAL OF WESTERN RELIGION, by Paul Hutchinson. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 152 pages. $1.50.*

Paul Hutchinson, managing editor of The Christian Century and author of "World Revolution and Religion," is a leader among the younger religious radicals. His bluntness is of the kind that puts teeth into his journalism without alienating his middle-class audience. In this book, a recast of his recent Forum articles, he exposes what he regards as the inherent weakness of Western religion: Its nominal author belonged to a subject race, an agrarian society, a pre-scientific mentality; its present constituency is the West—imperialistic, industrial, rationalistic. Mr. Hutchinson can find no reconciliation between the rival claims of the sovereignty of the Western state and the moral finality of the individual conscience; between the social capriciousness and human exploitation of a system which operates machines for profit and the religious axiom of "the supreme worth of the individual"; between the naturalism of science, and the supernaturalism of religion. His only hope in this impasse is "the coming of a revolutionary religious minority with a genuine fighting power." This is the interesting part of the book. But it comes as a footnote to the diagnosis, a bare suggestion. It makes no attempt to face the real questions: Will this "revolutionary minority" wish to remain within the religious tradition? Will i be able to do so?

SACRAMENTS OF SIMPLE FOLK, by R. R. Marett. *New York: Oxford University Press. 230 pages. $2.50.*

In this volume Marett, the noted Oxford anthropologist, tries to show that religion among primitive peoples is intimately interwoven with all of the primary interests of their lives—with eating, fighting, mating, educating, ruling, judging, covenanting, healing and dying; that it invests all natural functions with supernatural authority. He concludes that religion is the "architectonic force in

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all social organization," whose role it is "not to lull the striving temper but to compose and intensify its force" by stimulating the latent energies of personality. . . . Although it is true that many accounts, especially those written by missionaries, have misinterpreted the material symbolism of primitive religions in the interest of proving the unique spiritual qualities of Christian faith, Marett's attempt to discount many anti-social aspects of primitive and modern practice becomes another variety of special pleading. His substantial learning, displayed in an urbane and winning manner, and his discerning applications of social psychology and anthropology to an understanding of human behavior, are counterbalanced by frequent bland, unsubstantiated assertions—for instance, that materialism is synonymous with brutality and that all history testifies that science is but a by-product of religion.

Science

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT: Studies in the Genesis of Psychological Characteristics, by Gladys C. Schwesinger. *Edited by Frederick Osborn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 484 pages. $4.*

This substantial volume is of the utmost importance to all students of human behavior. Miss Schwesinger, a former pupil of Dr. Thorndike at Columbia, has assembled an impressive body of "material bearing on the influence of environment in the development of intelligence." This material, which includes the most recent work done here and abroad—and which is listed in exceptionally full bibliographies—is particularly designed to show "the status of measurement for the major mental characteristics." Detailed discussions of theories, methods and results assist in clarifying many confused issues, and the careful attention given to recent biological and genetic researches provides a valuable corrective to loose generalizing on this still most ambiguous of subjects. But—a note of warning—just how "strong" is the "evidence" based on studies made here and in England, which leads Miss Schwesinger to conclude, "that the higher intelligence of the upper socio-economic scale, is to an important extent due to differences in hereditary capacity"? It is still much too easy to assign genetic supremacy on the basis of economic rank.

MAN AND THE VERTEBRATES, by Alfred Sherwood Romer. *The University of Chicago Press. 427 pages, illustrated. $3.*

Intended as supplementary reading for students of biology in the University of Chicago, this attractive volume meets also the need for a balanced knowledge of the biological sciences on the part of lay readers. Professor Romer, an authority on vertebrate paleontology, covers a wide field—from the origins of life in marine water right down to the physiology of the human body. Chapters on reptiles, birds, fishes, mammals, monkeys and apes; the rise of the Primates from obscure beginnings in lemur and tarsier; human origins; the divergence of races and racial criteria (it is encouraging to note considerable prudence here); then the ascent of *homo sapiens*—the story is well told, and very fully illustrated.

Public Affairs

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE IRISH FREE STATE, by Warner Moss. *New York: Columbia University Press. 233 pages. $3.*

In the course of describing recent political developments in the Irish Free State, the author sets forth the thesis that the modern state is nothing but an organized and formalized agency for party government. As such it is the expression of party success and its efficient functioning is not at all dependent upon representative assemblies.

OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY, And How the Bankers Use It, by Louis D. Brandeis. *Washington: The National Home Library Foundation. 190 pages. 15 cents.*

This fine book by Justice Brandeis, the fourteenth title to be issued in the Jacket Library, was completed in 1913—but it is interesting to see how the analysis made then has been confirmed and reënforced by events since the depression. The present astonishingly cheap edition, well printed and bound in tough paper, contains a Foreword by Norman Hapgood.

Contributors

Harold M. Groves is professor of Public Finance at the University of Wisconsin. He was the Treasury tax expert whose appointment was suddenly and inexplicably countermanded by Mr. Morgenthau.

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